

**CHINESE IMMIGRANT FAMILIES' EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS:
A MULTIPLE CASE STUDY**

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By

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ABSTRACT

Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations are usually characterized as one of the most important reasons for Chinese students' educational attainment and achievement. However, the understanding of the nature and formation of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations is limited. It is important to examine Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations to gain a better understanding of their living and schooling experiences in Canada, in light of the fact that Chinese immigrants are one of the fastest growing ethnic minority group in Canada.

This research is a qualitative multiple case study of twelve selected Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations. The research purposes include: to give detailed description and interpretation of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations; to identify and analyze the factors affecting the formation of educational expectations in Chinese immigrant families; and to explore and summarize Chinese parents' and children's plans and strategies to fulfill their educational expectations. Semi-structured in-depth interviews was the main method to collect the data including the voices both from Chinese immigrant parents and children. I analyzed the data in three phases: refining and open coding, building categories and themes, and cross-case comparison and analytical generalization. The data were presented in six categories covering Chinese immigrant families' experiences from the general living experiences of immigration to the detailed schooling experiences in Canada and then to their specific thoughts regarding educational expectations.

The findings of this study revealed the complexity and variability in how educational expectations were constructed in Chinese immigrant families' life course of

immigration. There were two levels of meanings included in Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations: the specific expectations regarding children's academic achievement and the general expectations regarding what kind of people children should become. Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations were affected by different factors: Chinese cultural values, acculturation gap, parents' life experiences and perception of Canadian society, family's social status, age of immigration, length of residence, immigrant status, gender, personalities, and peer influence. Different factors and different combinations of these factors would influence Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations in different ways. How Chinese immigrant parents transmitted their educational expectations to their children and actualized the expectations through parenting had an enormous impact on children's eventual school performance and academic achievement.

Chinese immigrant families' cultural identification and acculturation were the most salient elements to explain how they formed their educational expectations and their practices to fulfill the expectations in Canada. Chinese immigrant families tried transplanting instead of uprooting Chinese culture, and acculturating instead of assimilating into Western culture. Chinese immigrant families chose to lean towards Chinese or Western culture according to specific situations and personal perceptions. Folk theory of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations was constructed in Chinese cultural model because the way Chinese immigrant parents and children "see" things and "do" things regarding educational issues in Canada were strongly influenced by Chinese cultural model.

Implications for policy makers and educators were presented in the following aspects: improve the connections between parents and schools through multiple conversation channels and partnerships; promote a variety of occupation choices in different ethnic populations; pay more attention to Chinese immigrant students' psychological health and well-being; and provide instructions that are meaningful and affirming to the cultural identities of students with diverse immigrant backgrounds. Future research directions were suggested concerning what might be done to continue improving the understanding of immigrants' educational expectations in a wider and deeper sense.

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Chapter One Introduction

Researcher's Story

I enter into this research “with and in the fullness of my humanity” (Clark & Sharf, 2007, p. 400). Locating me in a specific and unique interpretive community based on my personal stories and knowledge helps to explain my motivation and background for doing this research.

I grew up in a traditional Chinese working class family in a minority autonomous region of southern China. My father's side of family members were all highly educated and had good careers. My father's older brother was a principal at a middle school. My father's younger sister was a principal at an elementary school. I have six cousins from my father's side. They all have attended universities. One of them is a medical doctor; one is a judge; one is a math teacher; one is vice chief executive officer of a high-technology company; and two of them are self-employed. My mother came from a big farmer's family with eight children and was the second oldest child. She never went to school because my grandparents only let the boys and younger children go to school; this was because they couldn't afford to have all the children go to school. My mother and her older sister played partial parental roles to take care of their younger brothers and sisters. Most of my cousins from my mother's side are either doing small business or some blue-collar jobs with their high school graduate or diploma degree from vocational technical schools. For example, two of them own clothing shops; one is driving taxi; one is working as clerk; two of them have finished university studies, one is working for a

bank as financial management manager and the other one is working as physical teacher at a countryside elementary school.

My father did not get the opportunity to go to university because of the Cultural Revolution in China (from 1967 to 1977). My grandfather and his family were living in the city when the Cultural Revolution started. My grandfather worked as an accountant in the city. But he owned some farmlands in the countryside, which was passed to him from earlier generations and, made his family a target to be punished at that time. All my grandfather's farmlands were taken away. My grandfather and my father were sent to the countryside to do farming labour work. My father's sister escaped the punishment because she was married to a proletariat family, so she was no longer considered as a core family member. My father's older brother disengaged all the relationships with my grandfather to save his own family because he would lose his job and be sent to the countryside if he admitted he was another son of my grandfather.

When the Cultural Revolution ended in 1977, after spending over ten years in the countryside, my grandfather and my father were allowed to come back to the city to start their new lives. I was born in the early 1980s, growing up with the baggage of fulfilling my father's university dream. Although my father went to university for two years to get a certificate for architect work, he could have achieved much more if his opportunity of going to university had not been taken away when he was young. I also grew up under the shadow of my cousins' success from my father's side. There was big age difference between my cousins and I because there had been the loss of ten years in my father's life. When I was little, my cousins were in universities or working in bigger cities. I was

looking forward to see them when it got close to summer and winter breaks because they always brought gifts such as a digital watch and chocolate for me when they visited home.

Growing up with the baggage of the unfortunate time in my father's life and in the shadow of family members' success, I learned a few things from an early age: I had to go to university to make up for my father's regret of lacking education in his life. I had to go to university to live up to the good examples set by my other family members. I had to seek a good education and invest in a good future to bring glory to my parents. My father experienced the most unfair treatment and miserable life from 18 to 30 years old. As a consequence, he started his own family much later and from a lower status compared to his brother and sister. If I could not achieve as much success as my cousins had achieved, it would mean that my family would always be at an underdog position in the big family. My father told me "Where there is a will, there is a way," "you will become who you think you are," and "the bigger your dream, the longer your way." My mother told me I should learn from the successful examples of my cousins rather than looking up to her or taking examples from less successful family members. She said she was nothing because she did not go to school. It was unacceptable for her if I did not take my education seriously.

In my 19 years of education in China, I don't think I was the smartest student; however, my educational expectations were quite high and I worked hard to realize my big dream, step-by-step. I went to a top university in Beijing to finish my undergraduate study; then I went to a more prestigious university to continue my Master's study. When I was working for a business school, with decent salary and without much pressure in life, I asked myself what was next.

When I made the decision to come to Canada, it was the first time in my life I had made a decision thinking only about myself. It was different from the previous decisions made in my life that were mainly based on my roles as good daughter, good student, or good employee. I wanted to experience another culture and meet with new people. After coming to Canada as an international student, I learned so many things that I now appreciate. I had two roommates in the campus residence: one was a Caucasian girl from Vancouver, and the other was a Chinese girl from Alberta. The Caucasian girl was studying history as a graduate student and planned to do research in her subject field. The Chinese girl was studying neurology, at the same time applying for dentistry. I was fortunate to have many wonderful classmates in my program. Sharing the experiences with my roommates and classmates, learning about their pursuits in education made me reflect on my own educational experiences. I came to realize my academic achievement was attributed to my high expectations and the efforts I put to fulfill my expectations. It seemed like my educational experiences were just like many other Chinese students' experiences. However, underneath these educational expectations were my childhood memories, family upbringing, parents' lecturing, social interactions, and various responsibilities. Through my stories, it may be discernable to see how I had developed a research interest in educational expectations.

Bridging Experiences to Research

Based on my previous educational experiences in China and new study and living experiences in Canada, integrating with my interest in the research field of educational expectations, this research focuses on Chinese immigrant families'

educational expectations. Immigrant research is important in light of the growth of the immigrant population in Canada. According to the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), Canada had approximately 6,775,800 foreign-born individuals who arrived as immigrants. They represented 20.6% of the total population of 33,476,688 in Canada. The 2011 NHS results showed that China was the second largest country of birth among new comers who immigrated to Canada between 2006 and 2011. In 2011, approximately 122,100 newcomers or 10.5% of all newcomers were from China. Chinese was also the second largest visible minority group in Canada, with approximately 1,324,700 people, making up 21.1% of the visible minority population and 4.0% of the total population in Canada.

Two trends were found related to Chinese immigrant research. First, research about the disparity of educational expectations and educational attainment in different ethnic groups tended to view Asian immigrants as a homogeneous racial group (Zhou & Xiong, 2005). Asian immigrants share commonalities in terms of their cultural tradition and values, but there are differences of attitude and reaction among Asian immigrant groups regarding children's education in the host country. It would cover the diversity and variability among Asian immigrant groups if they were researched as a homogeneous group. Most research regarding Chinese immigrants was either included in the research of Asian immigrants or referred as a group in comparative research of different ethnic groups in North America. Compared to the big population of Chinese immigrants in Canada, the particular research about Chinese immigrants is limited. Second, Asian students were frequently characterized as model minority (e.g., Lee, 1994; Ng, Lee, & Pak, 2007; Suzuki, 2002). "Model minority" was first mentioned in articles featuring

Japanese and Chinese immigrants' success stories of their educational and economic attainment in the mid-1960s America. Since then, Asian immigrants in North America had been continually portrayed as model minority in numerous comparative studies (Kao, 1995; Kim & Chun, 1994; Sue & Abe, 1988). Some researchers pointed out that stereotyping Asian immigrant students as model minority would potentially lead to overlook the differences among Asian immigrant students and hinder people from recognizing the academic and psychological problems some Asian immigrant students may experience (Pyke & Dang, 2003; Suzuki, 2002).

I found Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations were usually characterized as one of the most important reasons for Chinese students' educational attainment and achievement in related literature (e.g., Cheng & Starks, 2002; Goyette & Xie, 1999; Li, 2001; Kao, 2000; Kao & Tienda, 1998). Compared with the connection between educational expectations and educational attainment that had been identified by numerous researchers (e.g., Glick & White, 2004; Gottfredson, 1981; Teachman, 1987), researchers' understanding of the nature and formation of educational expectations was lacking. The disparity of educational expectations among different ethnic groups was often discussed based on standard demographic factors in a quantitative research, which helped to summarize the general trends existing in different ethnic groups with respect to educational expectations. I assumed there were more stories to be heard underneath the causal relationships. I wanted to look into the formation of educational expectations held by Chinese immigrant families, and how they plan to fulfill their educational expectations in specific family contexts, by listening to their stories and interpretations from their own perspectives.

Chinese immigrant families faced various challenges in such areas as language, cultural values, job availability, and psychological stress after they moved to Canada. Immigration was a journey full of ups and downs. Children's education was one of the biggest concerns in Chinese immigrant families. Compared against researchers' attention towards how Chinese immigrant parents' educational expectations positively influenced Chinese immigrant students' educational attainment, Chinese immigrant students' feelings and reactions to parents' expectations have been less frequently discussed in related literature. I believed Chinese immigrant parents and children mutually influence each other regarding children's education in Canada. I was interested in the dynamics between parents and children and the involution process of educational expectations in Chinese immigrant families.

Research Purposes

The primary purpose of this study was to deepen the understanding of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations in Canada and to further improve the understanding of their living and schooling experiences in Canada.

There were three specific research purposes for this study:

1. To give detailed description and interpretation of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations. By doing so, this research disclosed the specific content included in parents' and children's educational expectations, and identified the differences and dynamics between parents' and children's expectations.
2. To identify and analyze the factors affecting the formation of educational expectations in Chinese immigrant families. By doing so, this research provided insights

into the complexity and variability of how educational expectations were constructed in Chinese immigrant parents' and children's lives.

3. To explore and summarize Chinese parents' and children's plans and strategies to fulfill their educational expectations. By doing so, this research illustrated how their educational expectations were actively carried out in the parenting and children's educationally related activities.

Research Questions

The central research question in this study was:

How do Chinese immigrant families form and develop their educational expectations in the Canadian context?

The central research question consisted of three sub-research questions:

1. What are Chinese parents' and children's educational expectations?
2. What are the factors affecting Chinese immigrant parents' and children's educational expectations?
3. What are Chinese immigrant parents' and children's plans and strategies to fulfill their educational expectations?

Significance of the Research

The significance of this research lies in two aspects: contribution to the related literature and implication for the related educational policies.

Available literature related to the fifth wave of immigrants (1965-2000) since the late 1980s, especially on Chinese immigrants and their children in Canada, is limited.

Most relevant research has been done in the United States. This study is part of the wider effort to fill in the gap in immigrant research, especially of qualitative research. To be specific, this research intended to contribute to the literature in the following ways:

1. This study will help to understand the nature and formation of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations as a dependent factor under the influence of different variables rather than as a variation in students' educational attainment and achievement.

2. Immigrant research usually focuses either on the experiences of parents or children rather than studying the views of parents and children together. This study included both parents and children in the same investigation to get the whole picture of Chinese immigrant families' expectations.

3. This study included the voices of Chinese immigrant families, telling their experiences and interpretations concerning the development of their educational expectations in Canada from their own perspectives beyond the standard demographic and socioeconomic explanations.

The significance of this study is also reflected in educational policy implications. The increase of school age immigrant children in large number brought an unprecedented challenge to Canadian school system. The findings from this study may give educators and administrators a more comprehensive understanding of Chinese immigrant families' schooling experiences in Canada. In turn, this understanding may help educators and administrators with insights to improve policy, more sufficiently respond to the educational needs and goals of Chinese immigrant families.

Definitions

I would like to clarify the vocabulary surrounding immigrant families, educational expectations, and educational aspirations. In addition, a special note should be made about the use of “educational expectations” and “educational aspirations” in this research. The focus in this research is on educational expectations. However, it is impossible to side step previous research about educational aspiration because most research on educational expectations/aspirations had used these two concepts interchangeably. In the Literature Review section, previous research on both educational expectations and educational aspirations will be included to ensure coverage of a wide range of related literature. Thus, in the Literature Review section, “educational expectation” probably could have been termed “educational aspirations” in the original literature.

Educational Expectations

Brookover et al. (1967) defined expectations as plans or perceptions of what will actually occur in the future. Roth and Salikutluk (2012) defined educational expectations as the estimated probabilities of attaining certain educational degrees. These estimations depend on available resources and academic abilities. Glick and White (2004) indicated “People’s understandings of what is possible based on their own resources and their perception of external barriers to educational attainment” (p. 278). When making a choice regarding education, such as whether to enrol in college or which field to study, individuals consider the likelihood of their success in the activity (Eccles, 1994).

Educational Aspirations

Educational aspirations could be described as goals or desired outcomes that people would like to achieve given ideal conditions, absent of limitations on constraints or resources (Berman & Haug, 1975; Hauser & Anderson, 1991). Expectations are goals people actually intend or expect to attain given the conditions they are in. Aspirations are not tied to actual means/impediments as much as expectations. Aspiration is a desirable state one hopes for, but one does not necessarily believe will attain. Educational aspirations reflect what people hope to study in preparation for their dream careers.

Many studies stressed the importance of distinguishing between the concepts of expectations and aspirations in education. Educational expectations are the general goals or ambitions for the future and allegedly represent concrete plans for the future (Feliciano, 2006). Educational aspirations are the level of education children would ideally like to achieve, while educational expectations are the educational level children realistically expect to achieve (Portes, Aparicio, Haller, & Vickstrom, 2010). The difference between expectations and aspirations also could be understood as “expectations refer to what individuals think will happen, aspirations refer to what they hope will happen” (Jacob & Wilder, 2010, pp. 3-4). In summary, Haller (1968) made the distinction between expectations and aspirations as follows: expectation is being realistic; while aspiration is being idealistic. Educational aspirations are assumed to be the level that students desire to attain in their education, whereas educational expectations are assumed to be more realistic appraisals of how far they think they will actually be able to go.

Immigrants/Foreign-born

Immigrants (also known as the Foreign-born population) were defined in the 2006 Census as “persons who are, or who have been, landed immigrants in Canada” (p.14). In this analysis, the foreign-born population does not include non-permanent residents, who are persons in Canada on employment or student authorizations, or who are refugee claimants. The foreign-born population also excludes persons born outside Canada, who are Canadian citizens by birth. The latter are considered part of the Canadian-born or non-immigrant population.

Recent immigrants refer to landed immigrants who came to Canada up to five years prior to a given census year. For example, in the 2006 Census, recent immigrants were landed immigrants who arrived in Canada between January 1, 2001 and Census Day, which was May 16, 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2006, p.14).

Assumptions

Social science research is shaped by the assumptions of the researcher rather than taking place in a vacuum (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). The assumptions in this research were constructed from the truth this research was looking for and the ways to search for the truth:

1. Chinese immigrant families’ educational expectations were both rooted in Chinese cultural tradition and modified by their living and schooling experiences in Canada. Thus, both their experiences in China and in Canada were assumed to influence the formation of their educational expectations. I also assumed that Chinese immigrant

families' educational expectations would change according to different stages of their immigration and their accumulated experiences along with their journey of immigration.

2. Different families in different cultures held different educational expectations, and had different interpretations (Alexander, Entwisle, & Bedinger, 1994; Sue & Okazaki, 1990). Contextualizing Chinese immigrant families' experiences was important for this research because their expectations were derived and conditioned by particular social, cultural, and family circumstances. It was assumed that qualitative research could elucidate contextual factors that fully illustrate the complexities in relation to the formation of Chinese families' educational expectations.

3. Both researcher and participants played active roles during the research process and co-constructed the truths captured in this research. The findings of this research were the creation of the interaction between the researcher and the participants (Guba, 1990, as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). It was assumed that Chinese immigrant parents and children in this research understood the questions asked in the semi-structured in-depth interviews and they were willing to let their voices be heard. One family represented one case in this research. Each case would contribute to this research with its particularity and complexity.

Delimitations

Delimitations that defined the scope of this research include:

1. This study was not a longitudinal study. The twelve Chinese immigrant families provided a certain degree of depth to the data for answering the research questions. To investigate the changes of the educational expectations over a longer

period was outside of the scope of this research. For the same reason, the relationship between the educational expectations in Chinese immigrant families and Chinese students' actual educational attainment was not examined.

2. This research did not provide causal generalizations regarding the relationship between Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations and the factors affecting the formation of their expectations. Causal generalizations were beyond the reach of this qualitative research. However, this research did achieve partial theoretical generalization based on the richness and uniqueness of the collected data.

Limitations

Limitations of this research were mainly attributed to: the communal shortcomings of qualitative research (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and the specific research circumstance.

1. The findings of this study hinged largely on an assortment of descriptive data such as interview transcripts and research journal rather than relying on statistical data collected from a large size sample. The findings of this qualitative study cannot be used to generalize the educational experiences of Chinese immigrant families in Canada.

2. The demographic background of the participating Chinese immigrant families in this research was not ideally diverse. For example, two thirds of the parents were highly educated with high social status due to the researcher's capability of recruiting participants from more diverse background and the pressure of the research timeline.

Organization of the Dissertation

In Chapter One, the rationale of this research is presented, which includes researcher's stories, research background, research purposes, research questions, significance of the research, and clarification of the definitions. The assumptions, delimitations, and limitations of this research are also explained. Chapter Two critically reviews the scholarly literature regarding debates over educational expectations. Discussions on educational expectations from variable theoretical perspectives and previous research findings are summarized. Juxtaposing different research traditions and ideological perspectives against critics' arguments in relation to educational expectations, a conceptual framework is developed through applying and refining the main ideas from previous research to this specific research context. Chapter Three introduces and justifies the methodology applied in this research, including selection of participants, data collection, analysis methods, and principles to ensure the validity and reliability of this research. Chapter Four sketches the twelve participating Chinese immigrant families' stories to provide background information of each family. Chapter Five presents and analyzes the data collected from Chinese immigrant parents and children. Six core categories/topics are summarized through analyzing and comparing the data. The meaning of themes and the relationships among themes are discussed. Detailed narratives from both parents and children to make meanings under different themes are discussed. The mutual influence between parents and children in the process of forming educational expectations are also discussed. Drawing on the findings from Chapter Five, Chapter Six concludes this research by presenting answers to the research questions, explaining the folk theory of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations,

discussing about the implications for policy makers and educators, and providing recommendations for further research.

Chapter Two Literature Review

This literature review includes two sections. In the first section, I review the theoretical explanations related to the concept of educational expectations. In the second section, I review the previous empirical research on educational expectations. Although the fragmented nature of the literature in this field complicates the task of drawing inferences about the formation of educational expectations, I synthesize theoretical concerns and previous research findings essential to my specific research context. Based on the review of literature, I develop a conceptual framework to serve as a guide in the following data collection and analysis.

Theoretical Explanations of Educational Expectations

In the literature, there are different theoretical perspectives regarding the interpretation of educational expectations. Each of these perspectives proposed a different explanation of how expectations developed and related to educational attainment or achievement. Because each different theoretical perspective had its priority on analysing either social or individual effects on people's educational expectations, no single approach was sufficiently comprehensive to address all the relevant relationships and dynamics regarding educational expectations. But every theory contributed to enrich the explanation and deepen the understanding regarding the concept of educational expectations.

Status Attainment Theory

In status attainment theory, educational expectations reflects a state of mind that motivate youth to strive for academic success, which are shaped by the expectations of significant others, notably, parents, teachers, and peers (Davies & Kandel, 1981; Sewell & Shah, 1968a). Woefel and Haller (1971) said that significant others influence students' expectations by serving as examples (modellers) or through the explicit encouragement and expectations they communicate to the students (definers).

The theoretical and empirical work for understanding and assessing the status attainment process can be traced to the research by Blau and Duncan (1967), who presented a recursive model of the occupational status attainment of American male adults. In this model, a father's education and a father's occupation were two antecedent structural variables. Status attainment process could be seen as a multivariate, causal system which links into a coherent model not only fathers' and sons' occupations, but fathers' and sons' educational attainments and sons' first jobs as well. Although Blau and Duncan's model had a core concern of the status transmission, or the extent to which ascribed positions relate to subsequent attainment, they revolutionized the stratification research by re-conceptualizing mobility patterns into status attainment processes. Instead of simply examining the extent to which one's origin was linked to one's destination, they looked into the mechanisms by which origin affected destination and what other factors affected destination besides origin. Blau and Duncan's status attainment model introduced the idea that the effects of origin on destination were largely due to the effects of origin on educational attainment and the effects of educational attainment on

occupation. Thus, educational attainment was the mechanism of status transmission across generations.

The Wisconsin Model was first introduced by Sewell, Haller, and Portes (1969) and further developed by Sewell, Haller, and Ohlendorf (1970). The Wisconsin Model is a more complex recursive model of the educational and occupational status attainment process. The Wisconsin Model began a long tradition of more extensive status attainment research by introducing social-psychological perspective to the status attainment research (e.g., Buchmann & Dalton, 2002; Haller & Portes, 1973; Hauser & Sewell, 1986; Marjoribanks, 2002; Sewell & Hauser, 1972; Spenner & Featherman, 1978). Direct effects of parental status variables on educational and occupational attainment in Blau and Duncan's status attainment model were shown by the Wisconsin Model to be mediated by formation of educational and occupational aspirations and the impact of significant others' influences in this process. Thus the most important contribution of the Wisconsin Model was that the effect of family's socioeconomic status on a person's educational and occupational attainment was due to its impact on the types of attainment-related personal influences the person received in the socialization process.

The Wisconsin Model hypothesized that family background did not have direct effects on educational and occupational attainment beyond its indirect effects through social-psychological factors. This model focused on the ways students were socialized, primarily by the influences of significant others in developing their educational expectations, and how expectations ultimately affected educational and occupational attainment, and further influenced social status. Educational expectations were influenced by significant others who conveyed their expectations directly to the youth

and also indirectly through role modeling (Hauser & Sewell, 1986; Sewell & Shah, 1968a, 1968b). Students' educational expectations mediated the effects of their socioeconomic background on educational attainment (Spenner & Featherman, 1978), which can diminish or strengthen the effects of family background on eventual attainment (Marjoribanks, 1998).

Sewell and Hauser (1980) explained that adolescents' pattern of socialization under the Wisconsin Model was aided by processes of their academic identity formation. For example, in the school context, adolescents became deeply influenced by perceptions and evaluation of significant others such as teachers and classroom peers toward them; adolescent's view of themselves were influenced by their perceptions about teachers and peers' appraisals, these appraisals were also manifested in adolescent's corresponding educational expectations. Thus, Sewell and Hauser (1980) summarized that adolescents' social and academic differentiation was attributed to their self-assessments, which were grounded in an adolescent's perceptions of how significant others in their social surroundings perceived his or her academic and intellectual potential. The Wisconsin Model also emphasized that a family's socioeconomic position would limit the pool of potential significant others confronted by individuals and the nature of their orientations. It would affect, for example, the class and general background of possible friends and hence the likelihood of them having and conveying college plans to individuals.

Most status attainment researches have been grounded in "socialization" perspective (Alexander & Cook, 1979; Kerckhoff, 1976). Research from this perspective assumed that differences in attainment can best be understood by differences in learned skills and motives, and thus the attainment system offered a fair system of rewards to the

most talented. Research from this perspective also tended to view the individual as relatively free to move within the social system, which was not necessarily the case according to social stratification theory (Breen & Jonsson, 2005). Another critique of the socialization model of status attainment suggested that this model cannot explain equally well the achievements of people from different gender groups, different minority groups, and different social classes (Alexander & Eckland, 1975; Marini, 1978; Portes & Wilson, 1976). Oakes (2005) acclaimed that status attainment tradition existed in a socio-political vacuum and failed to adequately address those institutionalized structures of class and racial segregation that determined the quality of schools in different communities.

Blocked-Opportunities Framework

Against the status attainment research's socialization perspective, scholars expanded and modified the basic status attainment model by proposing an "allocation model" (Kerckhoff, 1976), which addressed the structural factors when studying the relationships between educational expectations and achievements (e.g., Kerckhoff, 1976; McClelland, 1990). Stanton-Salazar (2011) advocated that social structure—at the micro, organizational, institutional, and community levels—was the motor that propelled all relationships, whether between individuals, or between groups in society. The social structure also made certain relationships resource-generating and enduring.

In the allocation model, expectations can be viewed as outcomes foreseen in the presence of various environmental constraints (Hanson, 1994). Kerckhoff (1976) emphasized an allocation model viewed attainment as due to the application of structural imitations and selection criteria rather than differential attainment being seen as due to variations in learned motives and skills in a socialization model. Kerckhoff (1976) also

pointed out that a socialization model and an allocation model cannot be fully differentiated because both models viewed the individual as the product of influences from social environment. The difference was that a socialization model looks for the explanation of attainments from the individual actor's socialization process and the strong association between ambition and attainment as indicating that motivation and ability determining the level of attainment; while an allocation model focuses on examining the mechanisms and criteria of control of the individual by social agencies to look for answers.

Different from a socialization model, in which the individual is seen as relatively free to move within the social system depending on what he or she chooses to do and how well he or she does it, an allocation model views the individual as relatively constrained by the social structure, people's attainments are determined by what they are permitted to do. Educational expectations in the allocation model were grounded in relatively clear assessments of the value of people's intended education and deep understandings of structural, as well as personal, constraints operating in their everyday lives (Buchmann & Dalton, 2002). People's expectations were developed based on knowledge of the real world rather than ideal fair world, which were affected by observed structural constraints, and thus reflected more than pure motivation. Attainment was viewed as the application of structural imitations and selection criteria. Kerckhoff (1976) argued there was a difference between "wishing" or "aspirations" that was usually used in the socialization process of status attainment and "planning" or "expecting" that was preferred in allocation model of status attainment. Kerckhoff (1976) indicated that educational systems involved allocation processes in which individuals were not free to

achieve according to their talents, but were subject to social forces that “identify, select, process, classify, and assign individuals according to externally imposed criteria” (p. 369). In this process, educational institutions played a role to “cool out” the ambition of the unsuccessful to avoid social conflicts (Kerckhoff, 1976, 1984). In the development of the allocation model of status attainment, more attention has been given to the structural factors in the labour market from the initially emphasis on the dynamics of the family and the school system.

Expectancy-Value Theory

Expectancy-value theory had a long history in the achievement motivation field. The “value expectancy” framework on motivation was the conceptual backdrop to most achievement models. Expectancy-value theory had been developed from Atkinson’s (1957) work to modern expectancy value theories (Eccles, 1994, 2004; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Feather, 1988). In modern expectancy value theories, both the expectancy and value components were more elaborate and were linked to a broader array of psychological, social, and cultural determinants (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). Eccles and colleagues (1983) developed an expectancy-value model of achievement as a framework for understanding early adolescents’ and adolescents’ performance and choice in the mathematics achievement domain. This model has been continually elaborated and modified and has become the most prominent model in expectancy value theories.

Theorists in expectancy value tradition argued that individuals’ choice, persistence, and performance can be explained by their beliefs about how well they would do on the activity and the extent to which they value the activity (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Wigfield, 1994; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000, 2002). In expectancy-value

model of achievement, educational expectations were influenced by people's expectancies for success, competence beliefs, and to what extent they value the educational achievement. To be specific, expectancies and values were influenced by children's social cognitive variables, such as perceptions of competence and perceptions of the difficulty of different tasks, their goals, and self-schema. Similar to significant others' influence in status attainment theory, children's social cognitive variables were influenced by their perceptions of parents' and teachers' attitudes and expectations for them, and children's own interpretations of previous achievement outcomes. The expectancy model can also be understood in a cross-cultural perspective to consider cultural influences on achievement-related behavioural choices. Wigfield and Eccles (2000) said that the overall cultural milieu and unique historical events also directly influenced socializer's behaviours, beliefs, and children's own beliefs. Eccles (2004) explained that socialization should influence the ways members of cultural groups saw themselves, as well as the goals and values they developed for their lives in different cultures. At an even more basic level, cultures differed in the extent to which individuals had "choice" over such achievement-related behaviours as educational focus, careers, and leisure activities.

Feather (1988, 1992) gave detailed definition of value in expectancy value model: "Value is a set of stable, general beliefs about what is desirable and postulated that these beliefs emerge from both society's norms and the individual's core psychological need and sense of self" (cited in Eccles & Wigfield, 2002, p. 121). According to this view, value intrigues the motives that would lead individuals to perform acts that they believe valuable. Different goals have different attractiveness to individuals depending on their

values and motivation to achieve the goals. The features of the goal object itself, the valence of success and failure to the individual, and the probability of succeeding on the task all have influence on people's values to specific achievement. In expectancy value framework, all choices were assumed to have costs associated with them because one choice often eliminated other options. Consequently, the relative value and probability of success of various options were key determinants of different choices (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002).

Gender and age difference in children's and adolescents' achievement beliefs and values was a central focus of Eccles and her colleagues' research (e.g., Eccles, Wigfield, Flanagan, Miller, Reuman, & Yee, 1989; Eccles, Midgley, Wigfield, Buchanan, Reuman, Flanagan, & Mac Iver, 1993; Wigfield, Eccles, & Rodriguez, 1998). They found a trend of change in children's expectancies for success, ability beliefs, and subjective values across the school years. The core conclusion was related to children's ability-related beliefs and values became more negative in many ways as they got older (into early adolescence). Children believed they were less competent in many activities and often valued those activities less. The negative changes in children's achievement-related beliefs and value had been explained in two major ways. One explanation was children became much better at understanding and interpreting the evaluative feedback they received and engaged in more social comparison with their peers. They became more accurate or realistic in their self-assessments, so that their beliefs became relatively more negative. A second explanation was that the school environment changed in ways that made evaluation more salient and competition between students more likely, thus

lowering some children's achievement beliefs (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000; Wigfield, Eccles, & Pintrich, 1996).

Rational Choice and Action Theory

Lindenberg and Frey (1993) commented that sociologists made increasingly more use of rational choice theories for the explanation of social action and this use was an important consequence of the increasing convergence between sociology and economics. Rational choice and action theory presumed individuals made choices or act based on a rational process of weighing the potential costs and benefits (Hechter & Kanazawa, 1997), or relative price effect, which meant that behaviour depended on relative prices (Lindenberg & Frey, 1993). Abell (1996) summarized three assumptions to catch the spirit of rational choice theory: (a) individualism: rational choice theory aimed to explain individual's social actions, which caused the macro social outcomes or events. It also aimed to build the macro connections through "causal" impact of social phenomena upon individual's social actions; (b) optimality: individual actions and social actions were optimally chosen given the individual's values and preferences across the opportunities and resources he or she faced; and (c) self-regard: individuals' actions and social actions were entirely concerned with their own welfare.

In rational choice and action theory, educational expectations represents calculated investment goals based on considerations of costs, potential benefits, and risks associated with each decision, with an attempt to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs (Breen & Goldthorpe, 1997). For example, decisions about future college enrolment may be driven by labour market incentives and financial ability to pay for schooling (Morgan, 1998). Besides, rational choice theory took a stance on "cultural"

expectations for individuals' expectations and actions, explaining that cultural norms as formalized societal guidelines were produced by the group's collective experiences, for the most rational course of action in a given situation (Scott, 2000).

One criticism regarding empirical applications of the rational model of educational expectations was that it was difficult to measure people's values (Goode, 1997). Different people have different standards to evaluate the cost and benefit based on their internal states and social structural determinants. Due to the difficulty of arriving at valid and reliable measures of internal states, in empirical applications, rational choice theorists usually impute values to people by assumption (Hechter, 1992), such as wealth maximization (Hechter, 1994) and uncertainty reduction (Friedman, Hechter, & Kanazawa, 1994). The other criticism related to the application of rational choice and action theory acclaimed that people often lack the full information to make accurate calculations about making choices and doing things. England (1989) argued that even people with full information did not necessarily have the cognitive ability to make optimizing calculations. In real life, people may act optimally in terms of their preferences, when the preferences themselves were not optimally formed; or individuals would not act upon preferences at all, but were driven by forces beyond their control (Abell, 1996). To response to this criticism, economists said that making a decision without full information or lacking of cognitive ability ("bounded rationality", Hogarth & Reder, 1987) could still be rational if the limitations of information and cognitive ability did not lead to make wrong-headed decision despite few random errors in individuals' optimizing calculations (England, 1989).

Blau (1997) criticized rational choice theory from a different perspective. He emphasized, “The central task of sociology is not explaining individual behaviour but explaining how the macro-structural context of the social environment influences the people’s life chances” (p. 20). And the structural context of a population cannot account for differences in people’s life chances or conduct, only the probabilities or rates of their social relations and actions, their educational, occupational, economic, and other opportunities. To apply these arguments to educational expectations in rational choice theory, social context, people’s values and beliefs, people’s preference rooted in culture and family context all need to be considered to explain particular motivations or drives to achieve education. If analysing educational expectations from an over simple economic perspective, educational expectations in the rational choice frame would only indicate the material feasibility of continuing in school (Alexander & Cook, 1979). In this sense, educational expectations become realistic evaluations of likely outcomes given one’s socioeconomic background. Abell (1996) also said, rational choice and action theory invited people to adopt the least complex conception of social action that people could analytically get away with in arriving at a “causal explanation of its course and effects” (p. 47). Goode (1997) suggested that the best way to guarantee that people won’t commit the errors of the purist economists when they apply rational choice theory was to continue building into their analyses with group-related variables that inherently introduce a macro or system dimension into their thinking and results.

Previous Research on Educational Expectations

Research about immigrants' educational expectations presented contradictory conclusions regarding how factors such as family social economic background, gender, and immigrant status affect students' educational expectations, because research discussed different combined factors and different investigated samples. Literature in this field was fragmented and difficult to integrate. These problems made reviewing and summarizing the literature a challenge. Just as researchers discussed educational expectations from different theoretical perspectives and emphasized different factors in relationship with educational expectations, researchers also had different priorities when investigating immigrants' educational expectations. Although the debates were complex, most previous research regarding immigrants' educational expectations fell into four general categories to describe the potential factors influencing the formation of educational expectations: family background, school environment, individual characteristics, and immigrant status.

Family Background

Family is the most important socialization environment for children. Family represents the micro-social environment that influence how children experience the larger social world (Teachman & Paasch, 1998), and family exerts crucial influence on children's educational expectations (Wilson & Wilson, 1992).

In comparison to the easily achieved agreement on the significant influence that family background has on immigrant students' educational expectations, researchers did not stop identifying the elements of family background that are tied to immigrant students' educational issues. It was a challenge to identify all the components of family

background that affect educational expectations because of the complex relationships between the different factors. Instead, I sought to obtain the overall influence of family background on the development of educational expectations by reviewing the most frequently discussed factors in previous research.

Most research focusing on how family background influence parents' and children's educational expectations draw on the basic framework of social capital theory. Social capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988) is the most influential theory when addressing the complexity of relationships among family background, immediate family settings, and children's school outcomes. Bourdieu's model identified cultural capital and financial capital, while including human capital to cultural capital as the formal education attained by family members. Coleman analytically separated family capital into components of financial capital, human capital, and social capital. Coleman explained that financial capital is wealth or income, human capital is measured by indicators such as parents' educational attainment that provide parents with resources to create supportive proximal learning settings, and social capital is measured by resources that reside in function-specific social relationships in which individuals are embedded.

It is necessary to clarify the term of "social capital" because it has two meanings. "Social capital theory" is the label used by Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) about family background and children's educational outcomes. When Coleman separated family capital into human capital, financial capital, and social capital, the "social capital" used here was one of the family's capitals. This use was different from the former use of social capital where the label was used to describe one class of theory.

I apply social capital theory to help organize the literature review in this section, which includes four aspects: parents' educational attainment (human capital), family income (financial capital), cultural tradition (cultural capital), and social ties and resources (social capital).

Parents' educational attainment (human capital).

Coleman (1988) said that parents' educational attainment is measured as an indicator of the human capital that provides parents with resources to create supportive proximal learning settings for their children. There is no unified conclusion in terms of the relations between parental educational attainment and their expectations for their children. The significant relationship between parents' educational background and their expectations for their children was identified in some research but was not identified in others.

Some research found a strong relationship between parents' educational background and their educational expectations for their children. The more education parents had completed, the higher expectations they had for their children. These children were also more likely to have higher educational expectations for themselves (e.g., Englund, Luckner, Whaley, & Egeland, 2004; Ganzach, 2000; Gil-Flores, Padilla-Carmona, & Suárez-Ortega, 2011; Kleinjans, 2010; Wilson & Wilson, 1992; Zhan, 2006). Some researchers supported the notion that parental education was the single most significant predictor of their expectations for their children, above the influences of other variables including child's gender, family size, and household income (e.g., Davis-Kean, 2005; Gill & Reynolds, 2000). When parents themselves were successful in school and had the jobs with high income and high social status, their high expectations were more

likely to be coupled with appropriate activities at home and tangible resources needed to realize their expectations (Alexander, Entwisle, & Bedinger, 1994).

Other researchers have found that parents report high expectations for their children despite their low levels of educational attainment. There was no significant relationship between parents' value orientations in terms of educational or vocational expectations and their own academic background (Kirk, Lewis-Moss, Nilsen, & Colvin, 2011). However, the high expectations of parents with lower levels of educational attainment may be buffered by their unfamiliarity with college requirements, their concern about college affordability, and their limited awareness of financial aid opportunities (Entwisle, Alexander, & Olson, 2005; Reynolds, Stewart, MacDonald, & Sisco, 2006; Thomson, Hanson, & McLanahan, 1994). Parents with higher educational levels and more prestigious jobs had more knowledge about educational institutions. These parents tended to be more convinced of their capacity in supporting their education on education (Whiston & Keller, 2004).

Children's own educational expectations are more strongly associated with parents' educational levels than with parents' expectations for them. Parents have or are pursuing a higher level of education or a more prestigious career act as role models for their children (Behnke, Piercy, & Diversi, 2004; Rojewski & Yang, 1997). Children tend to learn more from their parents by seeing what their parents are doing than listening to their parent tell them what to do.

Family income (financial capital).

Some research found the economic resources a family possesses might impact educational expectations (e.g., Akos, Lambie, Milsom, & Gilbert, 2007; Bozick,

Alexander, Entwisle, Dauber, & Kerr, 2010). Economically disadvantaged parents are believed to be more pessimistic about the chances that their children are able to attend college in the future, and such pessimism may reduce parents' motivation for actively managing their children's schooling. Economic hardship might be demoralizing, leading parents to doubt themselves and to have less ambition for the future (Crosnoe, Mistry, & Elder, 2002). Rojewski (2005) said that individuals from high socioeconomic backgrounds were more likely to expect and attain more education and more prestigious occupations than individuals from lower class backgrounds. Individuals from low socioeconomic backgrounds, even if academically talented, may perceive college as beyond their reach and might, therefore, scale down their educational expectations (Kleinjans, 2010; Teachman, 1987).

Researchers who supported the strong relationship between family socioeconomic background and students' educational expectations usually argued that the availability of resources and opportunity are main reasons why a family's economic background might make differences on people's educational expectations. Whiston and Keller (2004) found that social economic background acted as a gateway to occupational choice to a great extent, and consequently formed educational choices and expectations. Individuals from lower social economic families had restricted occupational expectations, and individuals who grew up in higher social economic families had expanded occupational expectations. Social economic background was believed to have an indirect effect on educational expectations through the latent factor of perceived barriers (Trusty, Watts, & Erdman, 1997). However, Fuligni (1997) found no strong relationship between family socioeconomic background and immigrant students' own attitudes and behaviours on

academic achievement by doing a survey of approximately 1,100 immigrant students with Latino, East Asian, Filipino, and European backgrounds, reporting on their own academic attitudes and behaviours as well as their parents' and peers'. This research also indicated that only a small portion of immigrant students' success could be attributed to their socioeconomic background.

Cultural tradition (cultural capital).

Bourdieu (1986) explained that individuals in the same family usually develop similar tastes, habits, preferences, and perceptions; they will begin to construct a “feel” for the meaning of the relations between their social positions and possible lifestyles; and given their cumulative exposure to certain social conditions, they will begin to anticipate probable realistic educational and occupational outcomes. The following section of the review focuses on cultural tradition's influence on parents' and children's educational expectations from two aspects: value orientation towards education and parenting style.

Value orientation towards education.

A growing body of research has suggested that the process by which students formulate their educational expectations is varied by ethnicity (Hanson, 1994; Kao, 2004a). From this perspective, it has led to a range of cultural explanations of ethnic group disparity on educational expectations and achievement, many of which emphasized cultural orientation towards education (Wentzel, 1998). It was consistent with familial socialization explanations of differences in ethnic groups regarding educational expectations, showing cultural background of families has an effect on students' educational performance and school success. Societies under variable cultures differ in their conceptions of the ideal or desired traits in children. Parental beliefs and goals may

reasonably differ as parents always seek to develop culturally defined desired traits in their children. Differences in cultural value would lead to difference in parental beliefs (Okagaki & Sternberg, 1993). Parents' expectations are powerful when the expectations are transmitted through a cultural context in which education is highly valued (Schneider & Lee, 1990).

Asian families' cultural tradition is an example to explain how value orientation about education influences parents and children's educational expectations. Asian cultural value emphasizes the importance of education, which has been used to explain Asian immigrants' academic achievement (Ma & Yeh, 2010). Chinese parents' expectations of these children's future are deeply shaped by Confucian philosophy in Chinese culture. The importance of education and emphasis of effort are central features in Confucian thoughts (Chao, 1994, 1996; Chen & Uttal, 1988). Chinese children also show conformity to their parental expectations (Chung, Walkey, & Bemak, 1997; Li, 2001, 2004). Parents make sure that their children work hard enough because they firmly believe in Confucian philosophy that one's achievement results from diligence rather than intelligence (Li, 2003). Marjoribanks (2005) suggested parents from an academically-oriented family tended to have high expectations for their children, provide stimulating reading and other learning experiences, have an understanding of the importance of schooling, and have knowledge of their children's schoolwork. Thus students can benefit from the support and encouragement from their parents. As Li (2003) analyzed, Chinese people regarded knowledge as something indispensable to their personal lives, which was consistent with the learning ideology in Confucianism. Li (2003) explained that Chinese learning ideology emphasized people should both learn the

externally existing knowledge and the social and moral knowing. This kind of learning aimed at breadth and depth of knowledge, the unity of knowing and morality, and contribution to society in addition to mastery of academic subjects and utilitarian purposes. Chinese people also seek learning to cultivate themselves as a whole in the moral domain toward “self-perfection” (Li, 2001). Based on this Chinese belief about learning, Li (2003) summarized, knowledge was not something Chinese people can live without but something they must have. This need to seek knowledge required Chinese people to cultivate their desire to learn, engage in lifelong learning, remain humbly, remain diligent, endure hardship, persevere, and concentrate. This conception of learning can also help to explain the passion and desire toward learning among Chinese people.

Parenting style.

Darling and Steinberg (1993) defined parenting style as “a constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and create an emotional climate in which the parent’s behaviours are expressed” (p.493). Parenting style is believed to be the emotional context that sets the tone for parent-child interaction. Cultural background not only influences family value orientation about education but may affect how expectations are communicated by parents and perceived by their children (Harkness & Super, 2002). Other studies have indicated that parents from different cultural backgrounds vary in their implicit theories of parenting and child development (Bornstein, 2012; Goodnow, 1988; Miller, 1988).

One of the most influential conceptual analyses on parenting was Baumrind’s (1971) systematic discussion on parental effect and control on the child, in which she differentiated parenting style as authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive. These

typologies were primarily based on assessments of parents' control or demandingness and warmth or responsiveness, with a third dimension recognized as reasoning or democratic give and take with the child.

Authoritative parenting, consisting of parental responsive attitudes and adequate control, an expectation of mature behaviour from the children and clear setting of standards by the parents, open communication between parents and children, and recognition of the rights of both parents and children, optimally facilitate the development of a child's competent behaviour. Under this parenting, children are believed to likely accept and follow parents' suggestions and advice, because parental expectations and requests are reasonable and appropriate for children when parents are sensitive to children's needs and abilities (Lempers, Clark- Lempers, & Simons, 1989; Pettit, Bates, & Dodge, 1997; Pettit, Laird, Dodge, Bates, & Criss, 2001).

In contrast, authoritarian parents are controlling and rejecting of the child; they tend to use power-assertive, prohibitive, and punitive strategies and emphasize absolute obedience of the child. Parents shape, control, and evaluate the behaviour and attitudes of their children in accordance with an absolute set of standards. Parents emphasize obedience, respect for authority, work, tradition, and the preservation of order. Under such parenting, children are believed to be self-oriented and to have low self-esteem and negative attitude towards the world because of the anxiety and frustration they feel (Lempers, Clark-Lempers, & Simons, 1989; Pettit, Bates, & Dodge, 1997).

Permissive parenting has been characterized as parents' highly involvement with their children with few demands. Parents are nurturing and accepting, and are responsive to the child's needs and wishes. Permissive parents also try to build easy and friendly

relationship with their children. Parents' expectations of their children are low, and there is little discipline. Permissive parents also allow children to make their own decisions, giving them advice as a friend would. Such parenting is seen as relaxing, with few punishments or rules. Children of permissive parents may tend to be more impulsive and less control of their own behaviours. But, in the better cases, they are emotionally secure, independent and are willing to learn and accept defeat (Grolnick & Farkas, 2002; Grusec, 2002; Hart, Newell, & Olsen, 2003).

Researchers argued that Baumrind's (1971) Western-based conceptualisation of parenting behaviour might not be suitable to apply to other cultures, such as Asian culture. Parental authoritativeness and authoritarianism may have different meanings in Chinese culture (Chao, 1994; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992). Some related psychology literature depicted Chinese parenting as "restrictive," "controlling," or "authoritarian" (e.g., Chiu, 1987; Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Although these styles of parenting were found to be associated with poor school achievement and adjustment problems in Western children (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987), many Asian students, including Chinese students, were proven to perform quite well in school, even rate above European-American students on academic achievement (Chiu, 1987; Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987). As a result, it seemed that Baumrind's inference about parenting and students' school performance might have contradictory findings in the cases of Chinese immigrant families.

To resolve the paradoxical findings reported about Asian parenting and academic achievement, Chao (2000) offered an alternative parenting style conceptualization: *chiao shun* or “training” (p. 234), to explain immigrant Chinese mothers’ parenting and their children’s academic achievement in a culturally relevant or meaningful context. Chao (1994, 2000) discussed, *chiao shun* involves training children early through guidance and continuous monitoring of their behaviors, while also providing parental involvement, concern, and support. At the same time, training does emphasize obedience and a set standard of conduct. Chao (1994) claimed, Chinese parenting styles were specially identified as significant to parent-child shared expectations, and provided both structural and functional implications for family processes and parent-child relationships in Chinese families. Bond (1998) proposed a culturally specific dimension for Chinese parenting, that “Guan” correlated significantly with parental warmth and predicted children’s well-being. Bond (1998) found, contrary to the findings of other investigators who assumed that restrictive control may relate negatively to children’s self-esteem and well-being, in Chinese parenting, parental control and warmth emerged as important parent style variables in relating to adaptation, and parents exercised their effects on children’s well-being partly through the mediating agency of children’s self-esteem and family relationship harmony. As Bond (1998) suggested, “guan” or “training” in Chinese culture seemed to integrate control and warmth at the same time.

Social ties and resources (social capital).

As Coleman (1988) claimed, social capital is not a single entity but rather a variety of different entities. A family’s social capital includes the resources individuals may access through social ties. Social capital is important because it represents a filter

through which the human capital of parents is transmitted to and used by their children. Coleman (1988) stated, “if human capital possessed by parents is not complemented by social capital embodied in family relations, it is irrelevant to the child’s educational growth that the parent has a great deal, or a small amount, of human capital” (p. 110). It is the amount and quality of academically-oriented interaction between parents and children that provides children with access to parents’ human capital. Coleman (1988) proposed two general types of social capital: social capital within the family and social capital outside the family.

Social capital within family.

Within-family social capital is an important mechanism through which parents’ educational expectations are transmitted and children’s educational expectations are reinforced (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). For Coleman (1988), parents’ expectations for children, interactions between parents and children, and parents’ involvement in children’s schooling constituted central indicators of social capital within the family, which in turn gave the child access to the parents’ human capital. In families, Marjoribanks (2005) summarized the potentially valuable social capital related to a child’s successful schooling included: the amount and quality of interest in, support of, encouragement of, and knowledge about education possessed by parents and other family members; and the extent to which such resources were transmitted to the child in interactions with family members. Integrating these arguments, three main social capitals within the family are reviewed: parents’ expectations of children; parents’ involvement and support in children’s education; and parent-children relationships and interactions.

Parents' educational expectations on children.

Coleman (1988) said parents' college aspirations for their children can be seen as a type of intergenerational social capital where parents are able to transmit their aspirations for their children into academic achievement. Numerous research has demonstrated that parental expectations significantly predict students' own expectations (e.g., Benner & Mistry, 2007; Catsambis, 2001; Davies & Kandel, 1981; Goyette & Xie, 1999; Hossler & Stage, 1992; Jodl, Michael, Malanchuk, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2001; Trusty, 1998; Wilson & Wilson, 1992). Children's own educational expectations and their beliefs about their academic abilities are affected both directly and indirectly through parents' educational expectations for them (e.g., Benner & Mistry, 2007; Kaplan, Liu, & Kaplan, 2001; Parsons, Adler, & Kaczala, 1982; Reynolds & Gill, 1994; Seginer, 1983; Thompson, Alexander, & Entwisle, 1988; Trusty, Plata, & Salazar, 2003). Goyette and Xie (1999) emphasized that parental expectations explained a large portion of children's high educational expectations for all Asian-American groups.

One reason why parents' educational expectations have significant influence on children's own expectations is because the patterns of parent-child interaction set the context within which events and circumstances in the outside world are evaluated and acted on. For example, the assumptions parents made and the encouragement they gave to their children about schooling affected their children's desire for education (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Hauser & Sewell, 1986; Parsons, Adler, & Kaczala, 1982; Sewell, Hauser, & Wolf, 1980). Thompson et al. (1988) found the formation of people's attitudes required the processing of information through self-reflection and daily interaction with others. As a result, significant others shaped

students' educational expectations through students' perceptions and the internalization of information; thus, they defined and valued the information provided by significant others.

Parents' involvement and support in children's education.

Parental involvement and support include parents' interest and participation in their children's schooling and learning that can be reflected in a range of home and school-based behaviours. Theoretically, parental involvement and support by the means of encouraging, facilitating, or supplementing school teaching can affect the cognitive, behavioural, and motivational aspects of children's learning and schooling (Davis-Kean, 2005; Kirk, Lewis-Moss, Nilsen, & Colvin, 2011; Scott-Jones, 1995).

In the home environment, parental involvement and support, as evidenced by activities such as monitoring their child's homework, providing academic enrichment materials at home, offering encouragement about school related activities, and facilitating intellectual activities that consistently emphasize the value of academic achievement and made education a priority, are positively related to children's own expectations (Dimaggio, 1982; Haveman & Wolfe, 1995; Kao & Tienda, 1998; Teachman, 1987). For immigrant families, school is important because it helps family increase their social capital. For example, Strickland and Shumow (2008) suggested that it was wise for school to include venues for communicating with parents about homework and information for foreign-born parents about the value of home educational resources to academic achievement. Schools should encourage families to use school facilities like computers and borrow books and other educational resources from public libraries.

In school-related activities, parents' involvement is critical to the flow of educationally relevant information. Researchers found that parents' socioeconomic background made a difference in terms of the channels and formats of interaction between parents and school. Some research found that, middle-class families had more social ties to make more often contact with school through children's lives and especially through the organized activities they participated in, as well as through informal contacts with educators and other professionals. By contrast, the social networks of working-class and poor families were found to be rooted in and around kinship groups, ties to other parents and to professionals were considerably less common. So middle-class parents had considerably greater resources when it came to dealing with children's schooling problems than parents from working-class families because middle-class families had more information channels and engaged in formal and informal school activities more frequently (Horvat, Weininger, & Lareau, 2003; Lareau, 1987).

Research has shown that the presence or absence of parental support is related to the educational plans and occupation expectations of students (Kerpelman, Eryigit, & Stephens, 2008; LeCroy & Krysik, 2008; McWhirter, Hackett, & Bandalos, 1998; Wilson & Wilson, 1992). With parents' involvement and support of children's education, children themselves tend to spend more time and effort exploring various career options and have higher academic and occupational expectations for themselves (Ali, McWhirter, & Chronister, 2005; Ali & Saunders, 2006; Trusty, 1998). Children who don't have positive, supportive relationships with parents are often at risk for academic problems (Goodenow, 1993; Midgley, Feldlaufer, & Eccles, 1989; Phelan, Davidson, & Cao, 1991). Marjoribanks (1998) said that relationships between family environmental contexts,

children's individual attributes, and adolescents' aspirations were mediated fully or in part by the adolescents' perceptions of their parents' support for learning. For immigrant families, parental involvement and support has even a stronger positive influence on students' educational expectations, achievement, and attainment (Connell, Spencer, & Aber, 1994), because immigrant students give the opinions of family members and friends an inordinate amount of weight, which Hoelter (1982) called "selective credulity" (p. 529).

Parent-children relationship and interaction.

The strength of the relations between parents and children is another measure of the social capital available to children from their parents. According to the social capital framework, parents can foster positive relationships with their children that reinforced children's learning at home (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998). As Hao and Bonstead-Bruns (1998) suggested, parent-child interaction in learning activities is a form of within-family social capital that strengthen the parent-child bond, generate higher shared family expectations, and facilitate children's school performance and academic achievement. Parents' and children's agreement on educational expectations is important and implies a higher level of communication and understanding between them. This concordance of parents' and children's educational goals is conceptualized to be the result of the family socialization process, in which values are transmitted across generations (Kerckhoff, 1989). In turn, the transmission of values was based on positive and active relationship and interaction between parents and children. Lareau and Horvat (1999) suggested the necessity of distinguishing between the possession and activation of family capital: "people who have social and cultural capital

may choose to activate it or not, and they vary in the skill with which they activate it” (p. 38). Supportive parents–child networks and efficient parents–child interactions may make a big difference in terms of the extent to which educational capital and cultural capital in families have been activated or accessed to.

For immigrant families, the amount of social capital generated from the parent–child relationship partially depends on family members’ “acculturation consonance” (Lim, 2002). For example, with well-established ethnic identity, first generation immigrant parents tend to strongly hold Chinese standards despite pervasive Western influences on their children. But “being Chinese” has different meanings to immigrant parents and their children. The possible acculturative gap existing between parents and children may cause parent–child conflicts and further affect children’s educational expectations and school performance (Crane, Ngai, Larson, & Hafen, 2005; Tardif & Geva, 2006).

Social capital between-family.

Social capital that has value for people’s development does not reside solely within the family. As stated by Coleman (1988), social capital outside the family entails cultural norms and value system of the community in which the family is embedded, as well as the density and extent of people’s networks with friends and acquaintances. Similarly, Hao and Bonstead-Bruns (1998) explained that between-family social capital is generalized from relationships between the family and the neighbourhood, the community, the labour market, and the local economy. Drawing on these arguments, I summarize four aspects of between-family social capital that could be connected with people’s educational expectations: the neighbourhood people live in, the social ties

between parents with other parents and friends/acquaintances, the ethnic community, and the institutional support of the school system.

The neighbourhood people live in.

The larger social environment that family could provide children with would affect children's attitude towards education. For example, through the choice of neighbourhoods and schools, parents provide children with physical resources and patterns of peer and adult relationships that might affect children's academic achievement (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov, & Sealand, 1993). Children who live in well-organized neighbourhoods and have well-financed schools with good teachers are likely to have higher educational expectations. When neighbourhoods are socially, economically, and racially segregated, expectations may be depressed (Sewell & Armer, 1966).

Relationship with friends and acquaintances.

A key component of external familial social capital is what Coleman (1988) called "intergenerational closure," which refers to networks in which parents interact with parents of their children's friends, thereby increasing surveillance and knowledge of their children's activities in and out of school. Through such networks, Coleman (1988) postulated, parents could transmit and reinforce common norms and values associated with academic success in addition to monitoring their children's activities. Social capital outside the family also includes the social resources that rest in the relationship and interaction between parents and their friends and acquaintances.

Ethnic community.

Zhou and Bankston (1994) suggested immigrant children might possess social capital specific to their ethnic group. For example, norms and values sustained by the ethnic group (Coleman, 1988; Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998), close and supportive networks in the ethnic community and a strong ethnic economy (Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998), and trustworthiness and solidarity in the ethnic community (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Coleman, 1988; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; Zhou & Bankston, 1994), are all important resources for forming and maintaining parents' and children's high educational expectations and for facilitating immigrant students' high achievement. Researchers argued immigrant families' strong ties with their ethnic community and parents who enforce ethnic connections through contact with their ethnic community might have more optimistic aspirations than immigrants who do not (Bankston & Zhou, 1997; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Zhou (1997) asserted that ethnic network is a form of social capital that can act "to moderate original cultural patterns, to legitimize re-established values and norms, and to enforce consistent standards" (p. 977). Portes and Zhou (1993) suggested there was a strong degree of "immigrant optimism" among Asian immigrant parents. Portes and Zhou (1993) believed it was an advantage for young children to have foreign-born immigrant parents because their parents maintained connections with their home country's language and culture and had strong immigrant optimism. These parents not only held high aspirations when their children were in kindergarten, but maintained these high expectations throughout the elementary school years.

Institutional support.

Institutional support refers to key forms of social support that function to help people become effective participants within mainstream institutional spheres, particularly the school system (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Institutional support is one type of important social capital outside the family. The development of social ties to the institutional agents is crucial to the social development and empowerment of ethnic minority children and youth, because these ties represent consistent and reliable sources from which they can learn appropriate decoding skills and from which they can obtain other key forms of institutional support (Lin, 1999a, 1999b, 2004).

Stanton-Salazar (1997) indicated that middle-class children and adolescents are systemically embedded in familial and school-based networks replete with opportunities of institutional support. However, for low-status visible minority children, the accumulation of social capital and institutional support is problematic because of structural barriers in institutionalized society. Stanton-Salazar (1997) summarized five barriers for minority immigrant families to get enough institutional support: (a) different value; (b) barriers to participate in mainstream setting; (c) evaluation and recruitment processes; (d) institutionalization of distrust and detachment; and (e) ideological mechanisms that hinder help-seeking and help-giving behaviours within the school. Because of these barriers, visible minority families' access to many valued resources and opportunities in society by way of a social network is limited. Visible minority immigrant parents and their children are less adept interacting with the school bureaucracy, understanding the flow of information from school to home, and relating that understanding to their own situations (Alexander, Entwisle, & Bedinger, 1994).

Without enough institutional support, minority children tend to identify with their own ethnic groups that could help sustain their positive self-esteem (Kao & Rutherford, 2007; Porter & Washington, 1993).

Along with family social capital, another factor regarding family background needs to be mentioned is family configuration. Family configuration variables such as family size, birth order, and spacing between siblings have been considered to have effects on children's educational expectations and achievement (e.g., Hauser & Sewell, 1985; Olneck & Bills, 1979; Retherford & Sewell, 1991). The way family configuration have an effect on children's school work is related to the social capital held in the family. Thomson et al. (1994) analyzed that parents provide two key resources to children: money and time. Money provides not only food, shelter and clothing, but also high quality neighbourhoods and schools, subsequently opportunities for experiences that would foster cognitive and social development. Parents' time provides the combination of support and control associated with positive child outcomes. Effects of parents' time or money on child's well-being are likely to be interrelated. Thomson et al.'s (1994) research showed that single-mother families' economic disadvantages may account for much of children's development disadvantages on academic performance from these households. Thomson et al. (1994) also demonstrated similar disadvantages were found for children living with their mother and her cohabiting male partner. Astone and McLanahan (1991) also found parental behaviours were weakly but consistently implicated in problems experienced by children living with their stepfather or mother's cohabiting partner. The lower levels of maternal and paternal support found in these families, compared to original two-parent families, appeared to contribute to children's

problem behaviours due to the time and attention invested in the parent-child relationship. Scott-Jones (1984) suggested looking into what ways single-parent rearing, in interaction with other variables, were related to cognitive development and school achievement of children. Strickland and Shumow's (2008) research indicated children who were living in single parent homes typically had access to less financial and social capital than children living in households with multiple adults. Single parents were shouldering the burden of family responsibilities alone and might not have as much time to devote to fostering their children's education. Children living with single parents or step parents during their adolescence received less encouragement and less help with schoolwork than children who were living with both natural parents.

School Environment

School presents another significant environment within which children's educational expectations are shaped through the social milieu of school settings (Alwin & Otto, 1977). With the growing number of school age immigrants to Canada, school systems have been interacting more than ever with particularly varied groups of families. Student composition, characteristics of school systems, teacher influence, and peer influence provide an interpretive template that would frame students' educational expectations (Garg, Kauppi, Lewko, & Urajnik, 2002).

Student composition in school.

Student composition of social status and ability that govern the range of peers students are exposed to affect students' educational expectations and attainment (Alexander, Cook, & McDill, 1978; Caldas & Bankston, 1997; Campbell & Alexander, 1965; Manski, 1993; Portes & Hao, 2004; Roscigno, 1998).

Positive effects of the school socioeconomic status context and negative effects of the ability context of the school (or “frog pond” effects, Davis, 1966, p. 29) have been summarized as the two main school contextual effects on students’ educational expectations (e.g., Alexander & Eckland, 1975; Alwin & Otto, 1977; Davis, 1966). Alexander and Eckland (1975) noted that the ability and social status of the student body “may affect self-conceptions and goal-setting largely indirectly through various interpersonal and social comparison processes” (p. 404).

School socioeconomic status composition influence peers’ interpersonal associations, which affect the likelihood of students being in a college preparatory curriculum and having college-oriented peers who, in turn, might affect students’ academic performance and college plans. So the positive consequences of enrolment in a high socioeconomic status school and students’ peer influence in the school both affect student’s own academic orientation and educational expectations (Kandel & Lesser, 1969; Sewell & Hauser, 1972). Caldas and Bankston (1997) pointed out going to school with classmates from relatively high family social status backgrounds made a significant contribution to children’s academic achievement. This effect of schoolmates’ family social status on achievement was only slightly smaller than an individual’s own family background status. Caldas and Bankston’s (1997) research also indicated students with disadvantaged socioeconomic family backgrounds and those who belonged to a minority race benefited more from the diversity of the school composition than students who came from relatively privileged background did, at least in terms of academic achievement.

The high ability context of a school operates largely through depressing students’ relative performance scores and major determinants of academic self-evaluation,

academic goals, and evaluation of one's academic competence. Students with high abilities in academically selective settings tend to receive lower grades than they were competing with less able students. This might lower students' educational expectations (Davis, 1966).

Buchmann and Dalton (2002) examined peer and parental influence on students' educational expectations and academic performance in twelve countries. They found that interpersonal influences that shaped educational expectations varied across societies, depending on structural difference in national educational institutions. They also found peers and parents had bigger influence on students' educational expectations in countries with relatively undifferentiated secondary schooling, like the United States. Because in countries with relatively open, undifferentiated secondary schooling, peers' and parents' attitudes toward academic performance should significantly influence adolescents' attitudes and expectations. In contrast, significant others' influence was negligible in societies with more differentiated secondary education. Because, in differentiated secondary education systems, it appeared that students' educational expectations were largely determined by the type of school the student attended, little room existed for interpersonal effects. In differentiated systems, students were sorted into different educational trajectories at an early age (e.g., those highly stratified and vocationally specific), students' expectations were determined, in large part, by the type of school they attended and significant others' attitudes were subordinate, even irrelevant. The findings from Buchmann and Dalton's (2002) research also reinforced that peer effects would be more sensitive to the institutional arrangements of the educational system since the formation of peer groups usually occurs within schools. The effects of parental attitudes

were more robust across the range of institutional arrangements and only weak in the most stratified and differentiated systems, which might mean parental expectations and attitudes were more influential for students' ambitions than peers'. Thus, institutional variations in national educational systems should be considered when discussing peer and parental influence on students' educational expectations because they played a mediate role.

Social and emotional support in school.

Perceived social support from teachers and peers in school will influence students' engagement in academic activities. Some researcher use "belonging" (e. g., Ames, 1992, p.11; Goodenow, 1993, p. 7) while other researchers use "relatedness" (e.g., Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Ryan, 1991, p. 23 ; Ryan, Stiller, & Lynch, 1994, p. 19) to describe students' psychological needs in a school environment. Ames (1992) articulated that the feeling of belonging, as students' sense of being accepted, valued, included and encouraged by teachers and peers in the classroom setting is important to motivate students. Similar conclusions have been achieved in other studies (e.g., Midgley, Feldlaufer, & Eccles, 1989; Wentzel, 1994). Goodenow (1993) said the poor fit between many schools and students' developmental needs, especially the social and emotional needs, is a key factor in reducing students' motivation. As expected, when students' motivation for studying is low, then their educational expectations would also be negatively influenced. Goodenow (1993) said the factor tapping students' perceptions of the support, interest, and respect they receive from their teachers is the most influential single component of belonging and support in terms of association with effort and achievement. As argued by Goodenow (1993), children are able to focus more of their

attention on learning if they feel socially supported and well-liked by both their peers and the adults in their learning context. Plucker (1998) investigated the relationship between school conditions and students' expectations with 1,170 students from two England high schools. The finding showed the students reporting high expectations perceived a more supportive school environment than the students with low expectations did. Stanton-Salazar and Spina (2005) argued that a facilitating institutional context would be helpful to the formation of supportive peer relationships.

Peer influence in school.

Children have their own social communities, which are seen as important for the development of their educational expectations. These social communities determine the types of interactions children have with peers in their communities. As well, the interpersonal situation within which children are socialized would largely influence their educational and occupational expectations (Teachman & Paasch, 1998). During the early adolescence time of change and transition, most students' interpersonal relationship and social adjustment will change. Students will become more psychological and emotional independent from adults; at the same time, they develop more dependence on peer relationship to establish and maintain positive perceptions of the self (Wentzel, 1998). In this early adolescence period, students tend to discuss more about their future education and career choice with peers as they spend more time with peers, place increased importance on peer approval and advice, and look to peers as a source of identity. Wigfield et al. (1998) found that adolescents were more aware of and concerned about peer group acceptance and spent much more unsupervised time with peer group than

younger children. Consequently, adolescents should be especially vulnerable to the peer influence on their goals, interests, and values.

The peer influence on students' educational expectations includes: "academic motivation, engagement and achievement through information exchange, modeling and reinforcement of peer norms and values" (Fekjær & Birkelund, 2007, p. 312).

Researchers have found that peer influence is positively related to children's educational expectations (Davies & Kandel, 1981; Sewell, Haller, & Ohlendorf, 1970). Adolescents are driven by the need of belonging. Adolescents' identification of a peer group is a major developmental task of early adolescence, with implications for youths' sense of identity and self-perceptions (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Molloy, Gest, & Rulison, 2010). Peer groups provide an important context in which adolescents can form expectations of their future. In turn, peer groups also impact life-trajectories. Peer group members may influence each other's educational expectations because they share future-related information. The formation of such group norms and shared educational expectations may originate in discussion, negotiation, and feedback given in peer groups. Peers may act as advisors in each other's educational planning. Young people may model each other's decisions concerning educational choices by providing feedback such as encouraging or discouraging different alternatives. Young people's initial thinking and plans about their future lives closely relates with how far they want to go in education and occupational trajectories (Kiuru, Aunola, Vuori, & Nurmi, 2007; Malmberg, 1996; Nurmi, 1991).

Hallinan and Williams (1990) said that young people tend to look for information they need to help them make choice; for example, after entering high school, applying for

university would be a frequent topic among peers. The willingness of an individual to accept information from the peer group depends on how much an individual trusts the people in the peer group and how solid the interpersonal relationships are within in the group. Individuals tend to form closer relationships with those similar to them in background and school experiences. Also individuals often suppose peers who are from similar background share similar values and goals. Stronger friendship implies that individuals will be vulnerable to the influence from their peers. So a student is likely to believe advice about whether to attend university from a close friend.

Early adolescents have the desire to get accepted by their peer groups. Different peer groups have different norms and values that drive them together. For example, academic activities may be emphasized by certain groups but ignored by other groups. Groups that spend more time on other activities they think more enjoyable than academic activities have a potential negative impact on peers in this group by shifting away their academic pursuit to certain extent because they want to maintain the peer acceptance. As Wigfield et al. (1998) reported, high-achieving children who likely seek out other high achievers as friends, develop more positive academic motivation over time. By contrast, low achievers who join a low-achieving peer group possibly become even less motivated to do schoolwork and more motivated to engage in other activities. Kiuru et al. (2007) believed gender difference exists how peer influence works among girls and boys. Among girls, peer group members share similar educational expectations. Among boys, the only adjustment variable that predicts their educational expectations at the peer group level is problem behaviour, such as smoking and drinking. If members of a boys' peer group report a high level of problem behaviours, they also tend to share lower levels of

educational expectations. One possible explanation is that shared activities rather than attitudes are typically emphasized in boys' peer relations.

As Stanton-Salazar and Spina (2005) discussed, peers are sources of emotional support, sources of intimate counsel, and peer networks are sources of key developmental experiences. As they argued, for immigrant students, embedding within peer networks is significantly influenced by the cultural principles of trust. The social support immigrant students get from their peer networks would foster their educational achievement, despite the acculturation stress and economically disadvantaged environments for immigrant students. Actually, the supportive peer relationships appear to buffer immigrant students' environmental stress (e.g., intermittent family poverty, community violence, resource-poor schools) and to help them develop relationship-based coping strategies that foster resilience. Giampapa (2001) found visible minority immigrant students usually negotiate their ethnic identity through peer interactions within their ethnic community. For example, Asian American students, the majority of whom have foreign-born parents are more likely than other students to be part of an achievement-oriented peer group (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Parsons (1963) emphasized the willingness of an individual to accept information from an outside source was determined by the person's trust in the source. Stanton-Salazar and Spina (2005) found the formation of supportive peer relationships require a facilitating institutional context. Young people need opportunities to interact in contexts where they can get to know and learn to trust one another.

Qin, Way, and Mukherjee (2008) said Chinese immigrant adolescents living in two contrasting cultures must face the challenge from both family and peer experience,

which are two most critical contexts influencing adolescents' psychological and social adjustment. Their research suggested many Chinese immigrant students did quite poorly psychologically and socially even if they were doing well academically, which has been discussed by other researchers as achievement/adjustment paradox. Qin and Mukherjee (2008) found that some Chinese immigrant students felt alienated from their parents and peers. The alienation from parents was due to factors such as language barriers, parents' work schedule, and high parental educational expectations. The alienation from peers was due to immigration status, language ability, the model minority myth, and physique.

Individual Characteristics

The above discussion of family background and school environment focused on contextual factors, which actually function together with or are mediated through people's individual characteristics to eventually influence the formation and development of their educational expectations. Children's expectations initially develop as vague representations of possible future outcomes based on societal norms and parental expectations (Nurmi, 2001). As adolescents gain experience, they develop more self-knowledge (Eccles, Wigfield, & Byrnes, 2003), which should lead to further refinements in their expectations. Children don't just passively accept parents' educational expectations for them; instead, their purposive self-reflective processes dominate expectation formation. Children mostly adapt their expectations for future education based on new and pertinent information (Morgan, 1998), or based on their interests, perceived abilities, individual characteristics, and the opportunities available to them (Gottfredson, 1981). In the following review, three individual characteristics: gender,

academic self-concept, and age are discussed. I have discussed other demographic factors such as ethnicity, under the previous cultural capital section.

Gender.

Gender has received less attention than other factors in the literature regarding educational expectations. Some researchers mentioned gender as a variable to influence students' educational and occupation expectations, but did not provide much elaboration. There were conflicting results regarding the relationship between gender and educational expectations in previous research. Some researchers found males had higher expectations than females (e.g., Marini, 1978; Wilson & Wilson, 1992), while others have reported females possessed higher expectations than males (e.g., Farmer, 1985; Mau & Bikos, 2000). Other research found no gender-related difference in the level of educational expectation (e.g., Trusty, 1998). Marini (1978) suggested that although gender difference existed in the process of developing educational and occupational expectations, the difference was greater with respect to occupational than educational expectations because occupational choice was highly sex-stereotyped. Mau (1995) supported this argument that career path was segmented by class, ethnicity, and gender.

Academic self-concept.

Markus and Nurius (1986) identified different types of possible selves: hoped-for selves refer to desired future states and motivate behaviours that increase the chance of goal attainment; feared selves are undesirable states and motivate behaviours intended to avoid those outcomes; and expected selves reflect likely outcomes and motivate behaviours that maintain this probable trajectory. In Markus and Nurius's (1986) theory, an individual's repertoire of possible selves can be viewed as the cognitive manifestation

of enduring goals, expectations, motives, fears, and threats. Possible selves provide the essential link between self-concept and motivation. Self-concept is formed through experiences with the environment and is influenced by environmental reinforcements and significant others (Shavelson, Hubner, & Stanton, 1976). Academic self-concept refers to individuals' self-concept beliefs formed specifically toward academic domains, like individuals' knowledge and perceptions about themselves in achievement situations (Shavelson & Bolus, 1982; Wigfield & Karpathian, 1991). Increasingly academic motivation and attitude toward school were reported as linked to academic self-concept, which has been found to be an important predictor of educational expectations (Calsyn & Kenny, 1977; Goyette & Xie, 1999; Marsh, 1990).

Students' academic self-concept of their abilities and competencies in performing various tasks are typically informed by their previous experiences, positive reinforcement provided by the environments they lived in, evaluative feedback from important others, and social comparisons (Bandura, 1977, 2001; Rottinghaus, Lindley, Green, & Borgen, 2002). Positive beliefs about one's ability were found to lead to greater academic performance, which may increase motivation to persist and develop higher goals even when facing institutional constraints (Bandura, 2001). Alternatively, negative beliefs were found to decrease aspirations or curb students' desires to persevere through challenging situations in order to attain educational goals (Bandura, 2001; Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 1996; Trusty, Robinson, Plata, & Ng, 2000).

Age.

As Nurmi (2004) articulated, adolescence is a crossroad from childhood to adulthood. When adolescents transit into adulthood, they engage in exploratory

behaviours that may aid in elaborating their sense of identity, providing information about the self that affects future plans. Adolescence, as a stage of development, is marked by a socialization process whereby youth are actively engaged in social interactions with various individuals, authority figures, groups, and networks within a complex social universe composed of the sociocultural worlds of family, community, peer group, school, and other predominant institutions (Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

Children's capabilities and needs usually change during the school years, as do children's relationships with their parents. Mechanisms of family influence that operate when children are very young might not be the same, or might have different effects because children develop close relationships with peers and other adults then gradually become more independent of their parents. Children also become increasingly more competent and thus change in their cognitive skills relative to the parents' level of competence (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Students' educational expectations evolve to clear goals when they take more information from their social surroundings and add more of their own thinking and reflection about their lives. In the relationships between children and parents, and children and peers, advices are given, interests are raised, goals are negotiated, solutions are compared, and outcomes are evaluated. This developmental trajectory consists typically of a complex set of decisions concerning schooling, education, and career (Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003; Nurmi, 2004).

Immigrant Status

Researchers agree that immigrant groups tend to have a social disadvantage status. For example, immigrants have to face the barriers to achieve social capital and encounter more structural constraints. Facing the similar disadvantage situations, different ethnic

groups have been found to have different responses. Kao and Tienda (1998) summarized how the social disadvantage status would either lead to overcompensation for the liabilities of minority group status by overachieving scholastically (Sue & Okazaki, 1990) or lead to educational underperformance if the ethnic group become sceptical about the value of educational success as a means to social upward mobility (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Regarding the former reaction from immigrant groups, previous research identified that the personal, family, or cultural characteristics in immigrant groups play a vital role to promote their high educational expectations and achievement. For the second reaction, research has emphasized the extent to which social disadvantage and related negative experiences decide how much these experiences would undermine the educational expectations of minority youth.

Some research has supported the first situation showing that parents in immigrant families held higher educational expectations than local citizens (Chao, 1996; Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998). Even after controlling for parents' socioeconomic status and their children's previous achievement, parents from minority groups still had higher expectations (Cheng & Starks, 2002; Hossler & Stage, 1992; Marjoribanks, 2002; Peng & Wright, 1994). Children of immigrants also had higher expectations than their non-immigrant peers (Goyette & Xie, 1999; Kao & Tienda, 1995, 1998; Krahn & Taylor, 2005; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Strand & Winston, 2008; Xie & Goyette, 2003).

Other researchers found immigrant status was connected with discrimination, systematic barriers, and limited opportunities for immigrant youth; all of which would decrease immigrant youth's educational expectations (Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998; Kao, 2004a, 2004b). For example, negative school-related attitudes (Farkas, Lleras, &

Maczuga, 2002) and negative early schooling experiences (Downey, Von Hippel, & Broh, 2004) were among the reasons for lower expectations in ethnic minority families.

Mickelson (1990) similarly argued that perceived obstacles resulted in lowered expectations and disengagement among minority youth.

Many researchers have focused on cultural background to look for answers for different educational expectations amongst ethnic groups when they faced the same problems and challenges. People from different ethnic groups appeared to have different acculturative strategies and attitudes toward education, which have led to the formation of their educational expectations. Xie and Goyette (2003) proposed a “strategic adaptation” (p. 467) framework for understanding the social mobility process of Asian Americans. Xie and Goyette (2003) analyzed that Asian Americans sought upward mobility through academic channels because of the possibility of facing discrimination and lacking necessary political resources and social capital. Asian Americans brought their cultural “tool kits” (p. 472) and adapted them to American society using family resources to facilitate their children’s movement up educational ladders. They were confident about the rewards from education. They also regarded stereotypical and group images as a reference for the construction of their expectations (Downey & Pribesh, 2004; Hanson, 1994).

Mickelson (1990) found students from African, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi ethnic groups may have high expectations in the form of general ideological beliefs about the value of education (e.g., “education is the key to success in the future,” p.46). However, with respect to concrete attitude towards education (e.g., “people in my family haven’t been treated fairly at work no matter how much education they have,” p.46), they were

not as positive about what change education could bring to their life. In this sense, their educational expectations were lowered by their negative concrete attitude towards education.

Another factor related to immigrant status is the length of immigrants' residence in the host country, which made a difference to educational expectations. Research has shown children who resided in the host country longer often had lowered expectations (Goyette & Xie, 1999; Hao & Bronstead-Bruns, 1998; St-Hilaire, 2002). Parents of immigrant teenagers held significantly higher educational expectations for their children than parents of second and third generation youth (Glick & White, 2004).

A Synthesis Approach

In this literature review, I have shown the various influences on educational expectations are comprised of a complex panorama. Despite a proliferation of theories and models related to specific relationships and hypotheses around the topic of educational expectations, no single theory or model could capture the full dynamics that reside in the formation of educational expectations. As suggested by Rojewski (2005), each perspective proposed a different explanation of what expectations are and how they have developed, but no single theory appeared comprehensive enough to address all the relevant influences. In part, it seems that investigators with different theoretical orientations working in the field tended to emphasize particular factors over others. By reviewing the literature, the assumption that both individual factors and group-related factors operate in a societal context, and that the factors related to educational expectations are bound to be mediated by the total societal context was strengthened.

Therefore, I believe applying a synthesis approach to examine the intricate nature of the interrelationships among the factors affecting Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations can better serve for the research purpose in this study.

Conceptual Framework

Based on the review of theoretical explanations regarding the concept of educational expectations and the previous research on the formation and development of educational expectations, a conceptual framework is developed for this research.

I am not committed to a certain theory; instead, I include key ideas from several theories reviewed earlier. This conceptual framework also reflects the factors and dynamic interactions, which have been identified in previous research regarding educational expectations. This conceptual framework serves as the anchor in data gathering and data analysis processes. At the same time, this conceptual framework remains open to change and improvement according to the new information or insights emerging in the course of data gathering and data analysis.

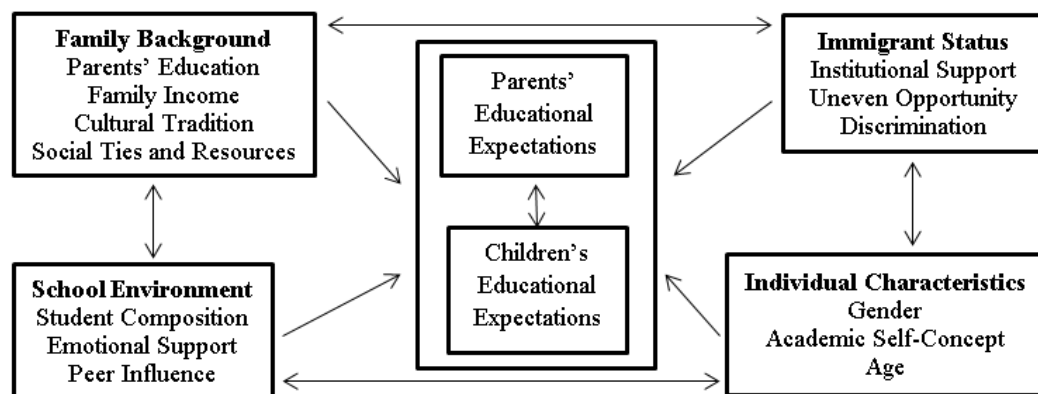


Figure 2.1. Conceptual Framework

The main items included in this conceptual framework match the rationality applied in the literature review, which has been the main focus discussed regarding educational expectations in the literature. I assume some items will be shown as salient factors influencing Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations in this study, while some items may have fewer effects on their educational expectations. However, I believe none of the factors works as an independent factor; instead, all factors work in a specific family context in a specific way. In addition, the factors also influence one another to have an effect on Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations; and, as shown in the conceptual framework, most arrows are bi-directional.

Summary

In this chapter, relevant literature regarding educational expectations was reviewed. In the first part of the review, different theoretical explanations regarding educational expectations were compared and discussed. Status attainment theory stresses the social psychological factors of significant others and the socialization process of the children. The blocked opportunity framework focuses on the allocation model of status attainment, emphasizing the structural constraints and system factors in the formation of children's educational expectations. The expectancy value model of achievement motivation includes both personal and social factors affecting people's expectations. Rational choice and action theory discusses people's expectations from a social economic perspective; however, researchers indicated that simplifying the process of expectation formation is not the purpose of this theory, suggesting combining with the specific social contexts when discussing different cases. Although different theories posed competing

explanations and paradigms, they shared many complementary insights in the formation of educational expectations. In the second part of the review, factors that potentially relate to the development of educational expectations were summarized: family background (human capital, financial capital, and social capital), school environment (student composition, social and emotional support, peer influence), individual characteristics (gender, academic self-concept, age), and immigrant status. The conceptual framework was developed as a synthetic approach to examine the complexity and variability underlying the development of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations because educational expectations are influenced by multiple intrapersonal and systemic factors.

Chapter Three Methodology and Research Processes

Grounding the Research in a Constructivist Paradigm

Selecting the methodology to apply in this research depends on the research question and a system of basic beliefs about the research question. These beliefs form a paradigm. Before describing the methodology in this research, it is necessary to explain how the research question and the system of basic beliefs lead to the methodology applied in this research.

The research question was the focus of this study. What the research question was and how I tried to answer the question influenced which paradigm I grounded the research in. A paradigm is the “basic belief system or world view that guides the investigation” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 105) or “a loose collection of logically held together assumptions, concepts, and propositions that orientates thinking and research” (Bogdan & Biklan, 2003, p. 30). A paradigm is comprised of basic assumptions about the research question, which include the ontological, epistemological, and methodological aspects of the question. These assumptions determine how the study should be designed and carried out.

The central research question for this study was “How do Chinese immigrant families form and develop their educational expectations in the Canadian context?” I believed the “truths” exist in the interaction between Chinese families’ interpretation of the context and the context’s influence on their thinking and behaviour in a certain time period and under certain circumstances. To make sense of how educational expectations of Chinese immigrant families were constructed and function in a given historical,

sociocultural, and individual family context, I grounded this study in a constructivist paradigm. In constructivist paradigm, the research purpose is “to understand the subjective world of human experience” (Cohen & Manion, 1994, p. 205), the “reality is socially constructed” (Mertens, 2007, p. 87), and researchers involved in such studies tend to rely upon the participants’ views of the situation as a means to generate or inductively develop theories or uncover patterns of meanings (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). The new knowledge achieved in research grounded in constructivist paradigm is established through the meanings attached to the phenomena studied; researcher’s interaction with the participants; and the new knowledge are context and time dependent (Coll & Chapman, 2000).

Based on the nature of this research and the basic assumptions about this research, I applied qualitative methodology to carry out this study. According to Schwandt (2001), “qualitative inquiry deals with human lived experience. It is the life-world as it is lived, felt, undergone, made sense of, and accomplished by human beings that is the object of study” (p. 84). The goal of such qualitative investigation is to understand the complex world of human experience and behaviour related to the question being investigated. I sought to better understand and to validate the representation of the participants’ viewpoints (Sidani & Sechrest, 1996) regarding their educational expectations in Canada.

Qualitative Multiple Case Study

Qualitative research aims to address questions concerned with developing the understanding of the meaning and experience of people’s lives and social worlds (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002). Case study helps gain knowledge of contextual

phenomena about individuals, groups, organisations, institutions, social, or political events (Yin, 2003). Case study looks for understandings of human knowledge and meanings in the complex social, physical and situational real world (Stake, 2000). This study of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations was a multiple case study, with each of the twelve families as one case. Multiple case study could enhance the trustworthiness of the research findings (Merriam, 1998), either by "predicting similar results (a literal replication) or predicting contrasting results but for predictable reasons (a theoretical replication)" (Yin, 2003, p.161). Multiple participants serve as a kind of triangulation on the experience of Chinese immigrant families, locating the core meaning by approaching it through different accounts to deepen the understanding of the investigated experience. This triangulation also allowed me to move beyond a single view of the experience (Polkinghorne, 2005).

I designed this qualitative multiple case study based on four essential characteristics identified by Merriam (1998): particularistic, heuristic, inductive, and descriptive. This study is particularistic because it focuses on Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations. This study is heuristic in that it allows readers to gain insights into Chinese immigrant families' living and schooling experiences in Canada and helps readers make sense of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations from the participants' own perspectives. This study allows me to inductively find similar themes in each case and to make comparisons across cases. Finally, this study provides thick descriptions of participating Chinese immigrant parents' and children's educational expectations.

Data Gathering

Data gathering in qualitative research provides evidence for the experiences being investigated. Data serve as the grounds upon which the research findings are based (Polkinghorne, 2005). I analyzed the evidence to produce a core description of the experience. In-depth interviews were the main method chosen to collect data in this research. Data gathering was conducted from the end of March to the end of October, 2014.

Recruiting Participants

In this research, purposeful sampling was applied to recruit participants because “purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned”(Merriam, 1988, p. 61). Qualitative inquiries require collecting a series of intense, full, and saturated descriptions of the experience under investigation. Participants provide substantial contributions to fill out the structure and character of the experience under investigation (Polkinghorne, 2005). Efforts were given to select fertile exemplars of the experience. All participating Chinese immigrant parents and children were purposefully selected to achieve the greatest possible amount of information to answer the research questions. Selecting maximum variation cases rather than typical or average cases was the ideal plan. I was looking for the participants’ greatest potential for providing highly informative data from their experiences that would contribute to the knowledge for this study (Creswell, 2002).

Nineteen Chinese immigrant families were contacted through direct contact and friends’ introduction. A poster used to recruit research participants was put on the online

community of Chinese immigrants and international students. However, there was no response through this channel. Among the nineteen Chinese immigrant families contacted, ten parents and eight children from twelve Chinese immigrant families agreed to be interviewed. Three parents and four children were from the same families; while other parents and students were from different families. This recruiting method differed slightly from the original research plan, in which I wanted to interview only the parents and students from the same families. However, Chinese immigrant children were harder to reach than Chinese immigrant parents for various reasons. For example, some children had busy schedules and, consequently, it was hard for them to schedule time to do the interview. Some students could not understand Mandarin well and had no intention to communicate with me in English. Some students preferred to spend time on something else rather than talking about the topic in this research, because it did not really interest them. To compensate for this situation, I adjusted the research plan to interview the Chinese immigrant parents and children, whether or not from the same families.

The initial interaction with the potential participants was done by meeting in person, through phone call, or by email. I explained the purpose of this research and how I would carry out the interviews. At the same time, I also answered their questions and concerns about this research. After obtaining an oral agreement, I met with the potential participants again to sign the consent forms (Appendix A), then discussed and confirmed the interview time and location with them. All participants' identities such as the information of family names were protected by using pseudonym.

In-Depth Interviews

Qualitative research interviews aim to elicit participants' views of their lives in their own words and perspectives, as portrayed in their stories, and to gain access to their experiences, feelings, beliefs and social worlds (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002). To get useful information for perceiving the picture of Chinese immigrant families' thinking and behaviour regarding their educational expectations, in-depth interviews was used as the main method to collect data. Johnson (2002) described the in-depth interview as "seeks deep information and knowledge . . . this information usually concerns very personal matters, such as an individual's self, lived experience, values and decisions, occupational ideology, cultural knowledge, or perspective" (p. 104). The specific interview format was semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews facilitated a more focused exploration of a specific topic by using an interview guide.

In this research, two interviews were conducted with Chinese immigrant parents, and one interview was conducted with Chinese immigrant children. The first interview with the parents focused on their life course of immigration. The parents were asked to offer as much as possible about their experiences and feelings before and after coming to Canada. The family histories and stories were situated in specific contexts before the second interview leading the focus to the educational expectations held by Chinese immigrant parents. The second interview focused on and explored detailed information about parents' educational expectations for their children and how their life experiences in China and Canada related to their current educational expectations through their revealing of deeply personal feelings and reflections. By doing so, participants attached

the meanings to their educational choices and activities. Because the first interview with Chinese immigrant parents had covered a lot of information about the families' immigration stories, the one interview with Chinese immigrant children focused more on the central questions regarding children's educational expectations.

The length of each interview was between one and half to two hours depending on how much the participants would share and the efficiency of the interview process. The times and locations for the interviews were decided by participants. Most interviews were in Mandarin, except two which were in English because the participants' Chinese language skills were not good enough to express themselves well. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. The interview transcripts were sent back to the participants to check for the accuracy of the narrative. When participants were satisfied with the transcripts, they signed the consent letter for release of the transcripts (Appendix B).

The interviews were carried out based on the interview guide (Appendix D). This guide contained a list of questions designed to focus the interviews, yet the guide allowed a flexible and conversational manner. I designed the questions from multiple sources. Some questions were derived from the information gleaned from the literature review. Some questions were developed from my own experience as an international student with prior knowledge regarding problems faced by Chinese immigrant families. The interview guide served as a basic structure of the interview questions, the participants were encouraged to initiate questions and concerns they were interested to elaborate on. By doing so, new questions emerged during the interviews. Some of the new questions captured the experiences of the participants better than those I had originally designed.

Some interview questions led to the participants exploring and giving accounts of past experiences. It is understandable that participants could not mirror their past experiences as they actually occurred. But the purpose of the exploration of remembered events is not to produce accurate recalls but to provide an occasion for reflection on the meaning these events have to the participants (Polkinghorne, 2005).

Data Analysis

The data analysis process was a constant patterning, comparing, exploring, changing, and reflecting process. This process also included the continuous referencing to literature and theories as a way to look for explanations that might ensure that the analysis of data focused on answering the research questions in different ways.

General Analysis Strategy and Characteristics

Yin (2003) said there were two general strategies for analyzing case study data: relying on theoretical propositions or developing case description. For the first strategy, the research questions should be based on certain theoretical propositions. One research purpose is to add new insights to the theoretical propositions. For this research, different theoretical explanations about educational expectations were reviewed. Rather than choosing any of them to be the theoretical framework to guide this research, I included essential constructs in the concept framework developed after reviewing the theoretical explanations and previous research on educational expectations. This framework helped to guide the data collection and analysis. Although this research did not rely solely on certain theoretical propositions, theory building was one of the purposes. In terms of the second strategy, each Chinese immigrant family was seen as a case and all the data

collected from each family were analyzed in the big picture of the family's context and history. In this way, the two general data analysis strategies summarized by Yin (2003) were respectively applied to the data analysis in this research.

Qualitative data analysis is a process of discovering patterns and themes, searching for meanings, and developing relationships. Characteristics of data analysis in qualitative research have been identified in previous research (e.g., Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). The following basic characteristics are summarized from the works regarding qualitative research method:

1. Qualitative data analysis process is an ongoing process starting with the data gathering and stopping at the end of the research. Data analysis and data collection mutually shape each other. In addition, analysing the data collected in earlier phase helps to modify the interview guide and the way of interactions with the participants.

2. When analysing qualitative data, researchers need to continuously modify their treatment of data to accommodate new data and new insights about the data.

3. When collecting data from multiple sources, each data source should not be treated independently, and data analysis should always be carried on contextually and comparatively referring different data sources.

4. It is important that the participant remain the author of the description, while the researcher is more like a supportive editor whose assistance leads the participant to produce a fuller and deeper account.

Specific Analysis Process

Yin (2003) described six techniques for analysis: pattern matching, linking data to propositions, explanation building, time-series analysis, logic models, and cross-case synthesis. Creswell and Clark (2007) suggested multiple case study researchers should include two kinds of data analysis: within-case analysis, which means giving a rich description of each case; cross-case analysis, which means generating findings across the cases. Miles and Huberman (1994) described three tasks for qualitative data analysis: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification. By integrating Yin (2003), Creswell (2007), and Miles and Huberman (1994)'s data analysis strategies and processes, I analyzed the data in three phases: refining and open coding, building categories and themes, cross-case comparison and analytical generalization.

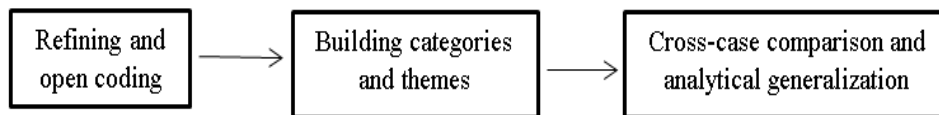


Figure 3.1. Data Analysis Process

Before moving to analyze data, transcribing the interviews was an important process to build the database and restore all the interview content. Also, transcribing consisted of the initial data analysis opportunity. Green et al. (1997) said transcribing was an interpretive process. They explained what was perceived as a meaningful bit of language depended on the researchers' cultural knowledge of the language's system and discourse practices. In this research, the interviewer and interviewee shared the same language and cultural background. According to Green et al. (1997), interviewer's knowledge about the language and culture would shape the interpretations of what the

interviewer hear, see, understand, and do. I transcribed each audio-recorded interview as close and detailed as possible in both Chinese and English. All transcripts were sent to participants to check the accuracy of my understandings of the data.

Refining and open coding.

Refining and open coding was the first step in data analysis. Data were classified as important or relevant, should be discarded, or check again later. After refining the important data, open coding of the data started. Open coding is a form of micro-analysis where the data are examined and meanings are assigned to individual words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs (Saldaña, 2012). Open coding allowed me to explore the ideas and meanings that were contained in the raw data.

In the open coding phase, data were examined word-by-word many times. I highlighted the important words, key phrases, sentences and wrote them down in the notebook, trying to connect them or make diagrams of the key information that were believed to represent important ideas, actions, events, and connections among pieces of data. I frequently revisited the relevant literature and the research questions to improve my sensitiveness of the data and possible underlying meanings that could be attached to the data. I paid special attention to interviewee's use of metaphors and stories in their expressions. When translating the Chinese version of transcripts to English, I tried to find the most suitable and accurate expression in English to avoid losing the meaning included in interviewee's expression in Chinese.

Building categories and themes.

After open coding, the coding concepts need to be grouped into categories. Corbin and Strauss (1990) explained categories are the classification of more discrete

concepts, which are discovered when concepts are compared one against another and appear to pertain to a similar phenomenon. So category is “a higher order, more abstract concept” (p. 61). Building categories through coding the data and using analytical notes and memos helped me find linkages to various concepts and identify themes and trends in the data overall (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). These categories helped me summarize the raw data and convey key themes. Categorizing helped me discover and order ideas and themes. Categorizing also helped me grow understandings, link the ideas to data, cross-reference, sort, and clarify (Thomas, 2006).

Holsti (1969, as cited by Merriam, 1988) summarized five guidelines to judge the efficacy of categories derived from data analysis: (a) the categories should reflect the purposes of the research; (b) the categories should be exhaustive; (c) the categories should be mutually exclusive; (d) the categories should be independent in that a category will not affect the classification of other data; and (e) all categories should derive from a single classification principle. Corbin and Strauss (1990) explained there were different levels of categories. In this research, I found the upper-level or more general categories were derived from the research purposes and interview guide. The lower-level or specific categories were derived from multiple readings of the raw data.

A rigorous and systematic reading and coding of transcripts would allow major themes to emerge (Elliott & Gillie, 1998, p. 331). Ryan and Bernard (2003) said themes are abstract (and often fuzzy) constructs that link both expressions found in texts and expressions found in images, sounds, and objects. They summarized that analyzing text involves several tasks: (a) discovering themes and subthemes; (b) organizing themes to a manageable few; (c) building hierarchies of themes or code books; and (d) linking themes

into theoretical models. In conventional qualitative content analysis, coding themes are derived directly from the text data (data-driven). When analysis starts with a theory or relevant research findings as guidance for initial codes, coding themes are derived from theory (theory-driven). In this research, themes were both data driven and theory driven. I used short sentences quoted from participants' narratives to refer a certain theme with the explanation of the theme including key inherent meanings and characteristics. I coded data that illustrated similar meanings and perspectives into the same theme. I then explained the relationships between different themes. These relationships were mainly based on commonalities in meanings between themes or mutual influential relationships between themes. Segments of interview text were coded, enabling an analysis of interview segments on a particular theme. Different from grounded theory research, this research depended on previous theories and research achievement to form the theoretical orientations and helped to develop the conceptual framework and interview protocol. For themes not driven directly from data, named as priori themes by some researchers, these themes came from the characteristics of the phenomenon being studied, from already agreed professional definitions found in literature reviews, from local or, common sense constructs, and from researchers' values, theoretical orientations, and personal experiences (Bulmer, 1979; Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The interview protocol in this research actually served as the tool to generate themes in the first beginning (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Dey (2003) said investigators' decisions about what topics to cover and how best to query informants about those topics is a rich source of a priori theme.

Cross-case comparison and analytical generalization.

It is necessary to understand the individual account in its own context, and also to develop a synthesis that capture the essence or variation of experience across individual case (Ayres, Kavanaugh, & Knafl, 2003). After open coding and building categories and themes, I looked into the relationships among themes, relationships among categories, and relationships between themes and categories. Analysis on the single case helped to gather comprehensive, systematic, and in-depth information about each Chinese immigrant family. Based on a comprehensive understanding about each case, I compared the selected cases to do the cross-case analysis and synthesis. Analyzing data in multiple case studies is more complicated than analyzing data in a single case, because the cross-case comparison was a repeated and constant process consisting of ongoing adjustment and rearranging of the data (Eisenhardt, 1989). I compared themes and categories emerged in each family's interviews with other families' interviews to identify similar themes and categories. By doing so, the similarities and differences among the experiences of the participants were sought out. I then grouped similar themes and categories to generate the main themes across the cases and identified the ones that were different. Besides the categories or themes summarized from a single case, there could be categories or themes synthesized from all the cases rather than the single case (Merriam, 1988). I analyzed data from one family to another family then compared between different families, from the first family, to the second family, then the third family, and so on. If there were themes and categories that were not the same between the first and second family, new themes and categories emerged. New themes and categories provided more evidence and further explanation of the relationships between

categories and themes in the discussion of the research findings. Tesch (1990) described the mechanics of interpretive analysis as “de-contextualization and re-contextualization” (p. 115). Data are decontextualized when they are separated into units of meaning through coding and sorting. These data are de-contextualized because they are separated from the individual cases in which they originated. Data are re-contextualized as they are reintegrated into themes that combine meanings taken from the accounts of multiple research participants. These re-contextualized data create a reduced data set drawn from different cases.

Stake (1995) said case studies were undertaken to make the case understandable (p. 85). Through comparing different cases, I tried to achieve the analytical generation in the conclusion section of this research. As noted by Yin (2003), selecting multiple cases represents replication logic, in that participants are chosen because they are expected to yield similar data or different but predictable findings. A major goal of qualitative multiple-case study is to compare and contrast the selected cases to increase the potential for generalizing beyond the particular cases. Ayres et al. (2003) said neither across-case nor within-case approach alone enables the researcher to interpret an experience both through its parts and as a whole, such that readers can recognize individual experience in a generalizable way. Within-case analysis alerts the investigator to the presence of key elements. These elements should be compared across cases to identify commonalities. Like Merriam (1988) stressed, qualitative multiple-case study seeks to build abstractions across cases, which can lead to build substantive theory, offering an integrated framework to cover multiple cases. Bogdan and Biklen (2003, 2007) explained the assumption of building theory from case study is that human behaviour is not random or

idiosyncratic. According to Yin (1989), “in analytic generalization, the investigator is striving to generalize a particular set of results to a broader theory” (p. 44). Generalizing to a theory is different from generalizing to a population. As Bogdan and Biklen (2007) said, qualitative researchers’ concerns are not about whether or not the findings are generalizable but rather to which other settings and subjects are the findings generalizable to. The knowledge achieved in this research was socially constructed and situated. Readers can relate to conclusions from this research depending upon the similarity of the experiences they may have and the interpretations about their experiences they may hold. Readers can also add to their own understandings regarding the conclusion of this research.

Trustworthiness

Miles et al. (2013) said, “People can make sense of the most chaotic events” (p.277). The critical question is whether the meanings the researcher finds in qualitative data are trustworthy and right. Central to good qualitative research is whether the research participants’ subjective meanings, actions, and social contexts, as understood by them, are illuminated (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002). Burns (1989) summarized five standards to evaluate qualitative research: descriptive vividness; methodological congruence; analytical preciseness; theoretical connectedness, and heuristic relevance. Lincoln and Guba (1985) substituted rigor, a concept was usually used in quantitative inquiry, with the parallel concept of “trustworthiness,” containing four aspects: credibility (or truth value), transferability (or applicability), dependability

(or consistency), and confirmability (or neutrality), which were analogous to internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity in quantitative research respectively.

According to Lincoln and Guba's (1985) explanation about the four aspects of trustworthiness in qualitative research, I had the reference to check for the trustworthiness of this research. As for credibility (or truth value), I needed to ask myself how confident I was with the findings based on the research design, participants, and context. Sandelowski (1998) suggested a qualitative study is credible when it presents accurate descriptions or interpretations of human experiences that people who also share the experience would immediately recognize the descriptions. Lincoln and Guba (1985) explained transferability means that the findings from one research fit into contexts outside the research was determined by the degree of similarity of the contexts. They noted transferability could be achieved if the original researcher presented sufficient descriptive data to allow comparison and the researcher had addressed the problem of applicability. As for dependability (or consistency), Lincoln and Guba (1985) argued qualitative researchers should account for both factors of instability and factors of phenomenal or design induced change when evaluating whether the findings would be consistent if the inquiry was replicated with the same participants or in a similar context. Confirmability (or neutrality) refers to the degree to which the findings are a function solely of the informants and conditions of the research rather than other bias, motivations, and perspectives. Sandelowski (1986) explained confirmability as the freedom from bias in the research procedure and result. Lincoln and Guba (1985) shifted the emphasis of neutrality in qualitative research from the researcher to the data, instead of looking at the

neutrality of the investigator, the neutrality of the data should be considered, which would be achieved when truth value and applicability are established.

Principles Applied to Improve Trustworthiness

Lincoln and Guba (1985) provided basic principles of improving trustworthiness in *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Other researchers also articulated how to improve the trustworthiness in qualitative research (Johnson, 1997; Krefting, 1991; Rolfe, 2006; Seale, 1999; Shenton, 2004). By reviewing their work, I found all the principles they proposed to improve the trustworthiness shared one central focus: people. For Johnson (1997), one important lens to evaluate the trustworthiness of qualitative research was the lens established using the views of people who conduct, participate in, or read and review a study. It meant people involved in the qualitative research played crucial roles to influence the trustworthiness just like numbers and instruments in quantitative research. Efforts were given to improve the trustworthiness of this research based around the people involved in this research, in order to make this research, in Johnson (1997)'s words, plausible, credible, trustworthy, and therefore, defensible.

First, the researcher is an instrument or coordinator. Qualitative researcher's role can exist anywhere from a distant observer to a full participant in the setting where the research is taking place (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Marshall & Rossman, 2010; Merriam, 1988). Researchers enter into any research project with their selves, which means researchers come to the research both with and in the fullness of their humanity (Clark & Sharf, 2007). The researcher's creativity, sensitivity, flexibility, and skill would determine the reliability and validity of the evolving study. It is essential that the investigator remain open and insightful, and be willing to relinquish

any ideas that are poorly supported regardless of the excitement and the potential that the ideas first appear to provide (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2008). Through the researcher's facilitative interaction, a context is created where respondents share rich data regarding their experiences and life world (Poggenpoel & Myburgh, 2003, p. 418).

The researcher is the instrument in qualitative research. Accordingly, instrumentation rigor and bias management are major challenges for qualitative researchers who employ interviews as a data collection method in their studies (Chenail, 2011; Poggenpoel & Myburgh, 2003). In this research, self-reflexivity was my main strategy for improving the trustworthiness. Self-reflexivity helped me be more aware of the bias and gave enough explanation about how the bias influenced the research. To be specific, being self-reflexivity in this research included three main works. The first work was to disclose my assumptions, personal beliefs, values, and potential biases, which might shape the research early in the research process. It allows readers to understand my positions and to bracket or suspend those biases as the research proceeded. My personal experiences as an international student and my educational experiences in China influenced my research from choosing the research topic to presenting the research findings. I believed those personal experiences and background had both advantages and disadvantages in this research. The same language and cultural background helped me understand the participants' experiences and opinions. However, sharing the same language and cultural background also challenged me in terms of entering the research with an open mind without many pre-set hypotheses. I tried to balance my insider and outsider roles during the research, making sure to keep the transcripts as detailed and accurate as I could without selection and filtering according to my judgement and

perceptions, as well as spending enough time on analysing the data comprehensively from different perspectives. The second work was related with maintaining the research journal; by doing so, it enabled me to be aware of my influence to the research in the research process. My research journal helped me record how and why my data analysis developed during the research process. It also helped me reflect inward as a researcher; outward to participants, cultural, social environment, historical, and other factors that shaped the research. The third work was to pay attention to every step of the research processes rather than checking the trustworthiness at the end of the research. Morse et al. (2008) said qualitative researchers should reclaim responsibility for reliability and validity by implementing verification strategies and self-correcting during the conduct of inquiry itself. Morse et al. (2008) also noted qualitative research is iterative rather than linear. So, as a researcher, I needed to move back and forth between the initial research design such as conceptual framework and the actual research process to ensure congruence among the research question, literature review, data collection and analysis, and summary of findings. By doing this, I could ensure the research process was consistent and reliable. At the same time, carrying on research and modifying the initial research design were beneficial to each other to verify the research process to improve the trustworthiness.

Second, the participants were the co-researchers. The constructivist paradigm assumed the reality is socially constructed and it is what participants perceive to be. How accurately participants' realities had been represented in the research would decide how reliable the research would be. To ensure participants' narratives and interpretations had been recorded as accurate as possible, the transcriptions in both English and Chinese

were sent to all participants to read though and give feedback. Most participants gave specific comments in terms of the family background information, their stories, and clarification of interpretations. The modification was made according to participants' comments. Another strategy to improve trustworthiness in terms of participants was to search for disconfirming evidence or negative case sampling. Johnson (1997) believed that searching for the disconfirming evidence would help researchers attend to important information, and come up with more credible and defensible results. In this research, I emphasized the disconfirming or negative evidence as much as the other confirming evidence. I sought explanations about the data from multiple perspectives under the established preliminary themes or categories. Considering this research was grounded in a constructivist paradigm, the disconfirming evidence provided further support of the credibility of the truth which was searched for because the reality was multiple and complex. Triangulation was also done by data source (12 Chinese immigrant families) and by theory (data were explained from different theoretical perspectives).

Third, to ensure readers who shared the similar experiences of this research could meaningfully relate or translate the findings to their own situations and contexts, I presented thick descriptions about Chinese immigrant families' living and schooling experiences in Canada: all narratives were contextualized. By doing so, readers could decide to what degree the findings in this research could be applied by them. Readers who did not share the similar backgrounds and experiences could have better understanding about the research topic with the detailed description.

Chapter Four Sketch of the Participating Chinese Immigrant Families

The basic participant information for this research is summarized in the following Table.

Table 4.1. Participants' Demographic and Background Information

Chinese Immigrant Family	Participant	Age	Years in Canada	Education Level	Current Occupation	Occupation before Immigration	Family Immigration Type
Family Feng	Mother	39	13	Master	Nurse	Nurse	Skilled Immigration
Family Wei	Mother	41	2	College Certificate		Nurse	Skilled Immigration
	Son	14	2	Grade 8			
Family Liang	Mother	42	3	High School Graduate		Business Owner	Investment Immigration
Family Dong	Father	45	2	Bachelor	Worker in Factory	Doctor in Chinese Medicine	Family United Immigration
	Daughter	20	2	High School Graduate	Waitress		
	Son	8	2	Grade 2			
Family Shen	Mother	42	4	Bachelor	Waitress/ Accountant	Senior Accountant	Skilled Immigration
Family Xie	Mother	38	11	Master	Computer Engineer		International Student
	Father	43	12	Doctor	Researcher in Genetics		
	Son	14	11	Grade 8			
Family Wu	Mother	39	15	Master	Computer Engineer		International Student
Family Guo	Mother	47	20	Master	Computer Engineer	Math Teacher	International Student
Family Chen	Mother	43	7	Bachelor	Staff in Public Library	Staff in University	Family United Immigration
Family Dai	Daughter	25	25	High School Graduate	Assistant in Municipal Office		Family United Immigration
	Son	28	28	Doctor	Researcher in Environmental Physics		
Family Li	Daughter	22	9	Graduate Student			Family United Immigration
Family Hu	Daughter	21	7	Undergraduate Student			Skilled Immigration

The blanks left in the two occupation columns means that the participants either did not have related experiences back in China or had not attained any stable job in

Canada. The sequence of the participants listed in the Table 4.1. is consistent with timeline of the interviews with different families.

There were similarities and uniqueness among these Chinese immigrant families. The most obvious factor to distinguish these families was the length of residence in Canada. Based on this factor, families were classified into three groups. The first group of families had been living in Canada for over ten years; most parents were highly educated middle class families. The parents in these families were computer engineers, nurses, or research associates at a university. The children in these families had moved to Canada at a young age, such as four, or five years old or were born in Canada. Life for these families had already settled in Canada.

The second group of families had been living in Canada for five to seven years. They had already been through the toughest time of transition. Some parents got stable jobs and started to build their careers in Canada; while other parents were either doing part-time jobs or staying at home and taking care of children. They hoped life would become better with their hard work and accumulated knowledge of this country.

The third group of families had come to Canada approximately two years prior to their participation in this research. They were still in the transition phase and trying to adjust to their new life. In these families, some of the fathers were still working in China or went back and forth between China and Canada after they received their Canadian permanent resident status. All the mothers in these families stayed in Canada, taking care of their children, with the financial support from their husbands in China. The mothers took opportunities to explore the country by attending some activities and programs for new immigrants and learning English at the same time. Some joined a local church to

make friends. They had also tried to do some volunteer work to be more involved in Canadian society.

In the following section, each Chinese immigrant family is introduced to provide a basic picture of the family and to help the readers have an idea about each family context. The introduction of the families is in the order of the families' interviews.

Family Feng

In this Chinese immigrant family, the father was a dentist, and the mother was a nurse. They had been living in Canada for over thirteen years. They had two sons: one was sixteen years old and in Grade 10, the other son was six years old and in Grade 1. The mother was proud of how smart the two boys were. The eldest son's IQ test showed that he was a "genius child." He would get high marks as long as he put a little bit more effort into his studies. He had passed the advanced class exam, but had chosen to transfer back to a standard class after one term. He knew about his own academic potential but he preferred to play sports, to hang out with his friends, and to enjoy life more rather than to stay at home studying. The teacher made a comment about this boy: "many children look up to him" because he was seen as a popular student at school. Being a popular student in school was more attractive to him than being a top student. He was good at sports. He had a lot of friends and they hung out together after school. He kept his grades above average, even if he did not spend too much time studying. His younger brother had a different personality. He was quiet and had more interest in studies. In this family, the father had no specific expectations for the boys. He believed it was good enough as long as his children were healthy and happy. The mother was in charge of the boys' studies. She was not satisfied with her eldest son's achievement in his study because she knew he

could do much better if he would devote a little more time on his study. She did not want her son to waste his potential. Her strategy was to keep communicating with him, to give him a positive influence in the long run, hoping that entering high school would mean a new start and drive him to study harder.

Family Wei

The father in this family was still working as a finance manager in China. The mother moved to Canada with their two children two years ago. The mother was working as nurse in China but had not yet found any employment in Canada. Children's education was the biggest reason the parents chose to immigrate to Canada. Comparing with other Chinese immigrant families who had been living in Canada for a longer time, the family education and parenting in this family was typical Chinese style and quite strict in many ways. Both parents had high educational expectations for their children. The most frequent topic between parents and children was schoolwork. The most important job for the mother was to take care of her children and supervise their studies in Canada. Being influenced by parents' values on education, the older son and younger daughter always competed with each other about whose grades were higher and who had better potential to go to top universities in the future. The mother had big pressure to make sure her children were doing well in school because, if not, her husband would complain about her parenting being unsuccessful. In the mother's mind, studying hard was important no matter which country her children were living in. She wanted her children to maintain the Chinese students' diligence on study and to achieve success in Canada. During the interviews, this mother was in the middle of preparing to move to Toronto from Saskatoon with her children because she was not satisfied with the school

education in Saskatoon. She believed it was better to put her children in a more competitive school environment in a bigger city like Toronto.

Family Liang

The teenager boy in this family came to Canada three years prior to interviews with his first year living in Vancouver by himself. He then moved to Saskatoon in the second year and was joined by his mother. The father was taking care of the family business in China. The boy was good at swimming and was a member of the school swimming team when he was in China. However, he was not good at studying. This became the biggest reason for this family to immigrate to Canada. The mother said it was hard for her son to continue his education and the future for him, as a child who was not good at studying was gloomy in China. This was the cruel truth in China. To provide a different schooling environment where students are treated fairly without too much pressure on the students who were behind other students in their studies, the parents decided to come to Canada. The mother had passion to explore the new life in Saskatoon. She also encouraged her son to socialize with local peers to improve his English and to efficiently adjust to his new school life. The boy enjoyed the liberal education and the lesser study load at school. However, this bothered the mother because her son spent most of his time playing. The mother wanted her son to understand that study was his own thing and for his own future. It was beneficial for him to achieve more academically in a less competitive environment and to build a foundation for a better future in Canada. But it was hard for her son to realize this. The mother said that the only thing she could do was to use her love and patience to wait for her son to be more mature and understand the importance of education for his life.

Family Dong

This family had come to Canada two years prior to this research, through the family member sponsorship policy. It was not easy for this family to give up everything in China and come to Canada to start over. Providing a better future for children was the biggest reason for the parents to make the immigration decision. The parents were still in the transition phase of their new life. When they were in China, the father was a doctor in traditional Chinese medicine; the mother was a nurse in obstetrics and gynecology. The new life in Canada was totally different for them. The father worked in a factory doing a manual labour job and the mother worked in a restaurant as a part time waitress. Despite the difficulties in building a new life for their family, they enjoyed life in Canada. The father was adjusting to the Canadian society. He mentioned that he had not felt comfortable socializing with local Canadian people yet. He was a down-to-earth person and he held similar practical expectations for his two children. He hoped both his daughter and son would find stable jobs and live easier lives. He was not familiar with the Canadian education system, while trying to help his younger son with his studies as much he could. But sometimes he felt it was difficult because of his own busy work schedule which included many evening shifts. His daughter was 20 years old and was working as a part time waitress in a restaurant. At the same time, she was taking courses to prepare her application for early childhood education in university. She was motivated for a career in early childhood education and wanted to work in a daycare center or a kindergarten. The younger son in this family was eight years old and was in Grade 2. He went to elementary school in China for one year before immigration. He was so happy to

be in Canada because he had ample time to play with his friends and the teachers were not as strict as his teachers in China.

Family Shen

In this family, the mother and the son were living in Canada without the father because he was working in Singapore. Before moving to Canada, they had lived in Singapore for approximately eight years. The mother suffered emotionally during the transition of life from senior accounting manager in Singapore to jobless new immigrant in Canada. She had been looking for the suitable job for two years, but it had not worked out well. She had spent her time taking an English course and working part time in a restaurant as waitress. Her son was an active and energetic student in school; he was good at sports and music. He was also a good public speaker, and hosted many parties and events. He made a few friends who were originally from south Asia, like Philippines and Malaysia, who had immigrated to Canada earlier than he had. The only thing he could not live up to was his mother's educational expectation for him. He did not have a clear goal for his future career. Because of this, he did not give enough thought to the idea of going to university after high school. He wanted to work for a few years to figure out what he really wanted to do, and then go back to school later. However, this approach was not easy for his mother to approve. She believed whether her son liked it or not, a bachelor degree would be a beneficial for his job hunting. So he needed to go to university after high school, no matter what. In fact, his mother sent the applications for attending university on his behalf. The father also emphasized the importance of education to his son every time when they contacted each other.

Family Xie

In this family, the father worked for a university as a researcher in genetics. The mother worked in a company as a computer software engineer. They had two sons. The older boy was born in China, and moved to Canada when he was four years old. He was fourteen years old and was in Grade 9. The second boy was born in Canada and was three years old. The father believed that the education achievement was important to people's future social status. As he commented, it was obvious that there was a big difference between blue-collar worker's life and the life of high educated people in Canada. He emphasized the important role of parents in children's development. For example, he believed parents should be role models for their children. Let children learn by showing children how to do things. He also emphasized that parents' guidance on some important decisions like choosing what majors for children's university studies was quite crucial for children's future career development and life quality. There were minor differences between the father's and the mother's thinking in terms of children's education in this family. The mother emphasized that personality might play a bigger role in people's development and future life than educational achievement. She was determined to train her son to develop good habits and personalities. She enjoyed the communication with her son, caring about her son's emotion and social life at school. As for her son's schoolwork, she often used rewards to encourage her son to make improvement in his study. The older boy in this family had mature thinking regarding his upcoming high school studies. He expected himself to be the number one student in his class, and he thought every high school student should have this ambition. He was a polite teenage boy, who had many friends and he really enjoyed playing sports. In the

conversation with him, it was shown that he possessed both Western and Chinese cultural traits.

Family Wu

The mother in this family was working in the university as a senior technician. The father was working in a company. They first came to Canada as international students and then had stayed in Canada ever since. Both had Canadian graduate studies experience in computer science. They had been living in Canada for fifteen years. Both their daughters were born in Canada. The first daughter was thirteen years old and was in Grade 8. The second daughter was ten years old and was in Grade 5. The mother had a sophisticated and detailed cognition and strategy for raising her children in Canada. Her child rearing philosophy combined strictness and love. Both daughters were in advanced classes in school. They had close relationships with parents. They had been growing up in Western educational system; at the same time, they were immersed in Chinese culture and tradition at home. The parents provided everything for these two girls to make sure they had sufficient opportunities to explore the passions in their lives, which would lead them to find the most suitable careers in the future. The mother's vision of her two daughters' future life cannot be summarized by specific degree or career. Instead, she hoped her daughters could contribute to society with their profession, and they could fully enjoy happiness in their lives. Of course, this mother valued education in her daughters' lives. However, she not just expected education could bring a financial secure future for her daughters, but also cared about education would help her daughters become stronger people with their own judgements and high self-esteem. This mother believed

that her daughters should live quality lives and contribute to the society by using their knowledge and passion.

Family Guo

In this family, the father was doing Agriculture related research in the university. The mother was working for a company as computer technician. The mother was a math teacher in China before her immigration. She came to Canada with her husband who was engaged in his PhD study at that time. They settled down in this country after many years' of hard work. She had been through tough times as she sought to put herself back on track in terms of her career in Canada. In the first few years of living in Canada, she had a busy life which consisted of taking care of her young child and taking part time jobs to financially support her family. She worked as waitress, sewing worker, and other kinds of temporary jobs. She had one son and one daughter. She talked about the different experiences of raising her son and daughter in Canada. Her older son was born in China, and came to Canada when he was four years old. She felt a little guilty that she did not make the best use of the public infrastructure and beneficial policies to provide her son with more opportunities to be involved in Canadian society, like many other local children. In addition, she imposed more typical Chinese parenting on her son than she did on her younger daughter. Her daughter was born in Canada. She was an energetic and smart girl who had a busy schedule to balance the schoolwork, figure skating, dancing, and painting courses after school. Different from the parenting style this mother had applied to educate her older son. She had an open mind about her daughter's education and future career. She commented that she felt more confident living in Canada because her family had a better life than they had before and she had gained

better knowledge about Canadian society. Thus, she did not want to put much pressure on her daughter. All she wanted was to enjoy the moments of being around her daughter, and she hoped her daughter would have a fulfilling job to keep herself busy and happy in the future.

Family Chen

In this family, the father worked at a university as a researcher associate. The mother worked in a public library. Their son was eighteen years old and just finished his high school study. This family had been living in Canada for eight years. The mother talked about her struggle and loneliness when she had tried to start a new life in Canada. Her job searching experiences was something that she did not want to look back on because it was tough and unsuccessful. She described herself as a conservative person and was not good at socializing with people. She also faced some acculturative gap and communication difficulties with her son. She had been trying to understand her son more. She mentioned the biggest support she could provide for her son was to take care of his life such that he could focus on his studies. Her son had both education experiences in China and in Canada. When he was in China, he had a tough time doing well in school. After moving to Canada, especially when he went to high school, he made big advancement in his studies. He had received offers from a few top universities and was still waiting for offers from some other universities. The mother did not show much excitement about these offers her son had already received. To her, this was the normal way children continued their education and found a job after finishing the university. However, she expressed how fortunate she was to live in Canada where her son could finish the transition from high school to university without too much pressure and

hardship. Initially she followed her husband moving to Canada. Her husband had been doing research in two universities in Canada. Later she made the decision to live in Canada, mostly because of her son's education. She summarized the biggest reward of immigrating to Canada was her son did better in school in Canadian education system and he had been successfully accepted by several universities.

Family Dai

This family had been living in Canada for over thirty years. Their story could be a typical example of the early Chinese immigrants who had come to Canada for better life and had worked hard to build their lives by establishing a family business. The parents first worked in a few restaurants and then were able to open their own restaurant. They had been through tough times but had kept working to improve their situation over many years. Both their first son and the second daughter were born in Canada. They had grown up in Canadian educational system. At the same time, they were raised by traditional Chinese parents, who kept the Chinese life style and tradition in the family. Parents in this family did not have high education background themselves. They both had left school quite early then started to work. The educational expectations they had for their children were high but blurred. Because their busy work of running a restaurant and their lack of knowledge about Canadian education system, they got their ideas about what their children's future should be by listening to and seeing the examples of other Chinese immigrant families. They wanted both children to go to university and become either a doctors or lawyer. They knew that being a doctor or a lawyer would mean success but they did not give much thought to their children's interests and personalities. Similarly, they were strict about their children's studies but without much communication

or specific strategies to improve their children's learning motivation. Under the same family circumstance, the son and the daughter turned out to be totally different in terms of their personalities and academic achievements. The older son had finished his graduate study and had become an academic researcher working in a university. His parents always called him a good son and were proud of him. His younger sister's schooling experiences had not been so smooth. She did not like going to school. She said studying was not her thing. After graduating from high school, she had been, on and off, taking courses in university but had not registered as a full time student. She was working as an administrative assistant, but had not given up going back to school because the expectations and pressure from parents.

Family Li

This family had been living in Canada for nine years. The mother was working for a science lab as technician and the father was working as a metal engineer. The daughter experienced the transition of moving from China to Canada when she was twelve years old. She had a good understanding of her education in both China and Canada. She was a typical hard working and self-disciplined girl. Studying had never been an issue for her; but how to adjust to the Canadian school culture and to get involved in different school activities had been more difficult for her in the first few years. At the time of this study, she was waiting for the interview opportunity to get into medical school. This was her second attempt to apply for medical school. She wanted to try again because she believed if she did not try she would never know whether or not she could achieve this. Her GPA was good enough for her to apply for other professional colleges. Thus her goal was at least to get into a professional college, if not the medical

school. She understood that she would never be the same as her Canada-born peers, considering the culture background difference and stereotype images of Asian students in Western culture. So she had to put more efforts into securing a good career and taking care of her parents in the future. She had always been a top student in junior high and high school. After she went to university, she realized that she should do better because she had to compete with so many outstanding students in university. Because she was so self-motivated and hard-working, her parents did not need to supervise her study much.

Family Hu

This family moved to Canada when the children were young; so the children went to kindergarten and elementary school in Canada. Then the family moved back to China because the parents preferred to work and live there, rather than in Canada. The daughter who was interviewed was an undergraduate student in a Canadian university, majoring in Environmental Science. After following her parents back to China to receive her junior high school education for a few years, her parents sent her back to Canada because she had failed half of the courses in China. She went to high school in Canada and successfully got offers from a few universities. She said it would be difficult for her to get into university if she had stayed in China. Compared with the high pressure and discouraging study experience in junior high school in China, she very much enjoyed her high school life in Canada. She did a lot volunteer work and was involved in many sports and musical activities, which rewarded her with a gold medal for outstanding high school student in Victoria, British Columbia. Her career plan was to work for environment protection and improvement. In the future, she preferred to have some work experiences in both Canada and China.

Summary of the Participating Families

Chinese immigrant parents' and students' educational expectations were not united and fixed. They held different educational expectations because of different family contexts, parents' educational and profession backgrounds, children's schooling experiences in China or Canada, how long they had been living in Canada, and many other factors. In the following chapter, Chinese immigrant parents' and children's educational expectations are described and analyzed in different categories summarized from their narratives. When analyzing the data, I will refer back to different family stories to make meaningful analyses, based on different families' contexts and characteristics.

Chapter Five Data Presentation and Analysis

Data analysis in this research consisted of continuous listening, reading, making meanings, comparison, modifying, and summarizing processes both at the individual Chinese immigrant family level and at the Chinese immigrant community level. As described in Chapter Three, data analysis included three stages in this research: refining and open coding, building categories and themes, and cross-case comparison and analytical generalization.

In the initial stage of refining and open coding data, I read through the entire interview narratives for each family without the urge to categorize the data. The purpose of doing so was to grasp a basic idea of the family's educational expectations in its specific family context. After reading through each family's interview data, the basic philosophy regarding children's education in each family started to come into shape. Interestingly, in each family's interview transcripts, parents repeated certain sentences many times, showing their basic ideas of children's education in Canada. In this stage of data analysis, the data base for each family was built through transcribing each interview with the parents and children. Another data base was built through reorganizing the data by the same interview questions.

The second stage of building categories and themes was to take a close look at both the data of each family and the data of answering the same interview questions. There were number of recurrent words and sentences emerging from parents' and children's answers either to the same questions or to different questions. Initial patterns started to form. The themes in this research were both derived directly from the data (data-driven) and from theories or relevant research findings (theory-driven). In Chapter

Two of the Literature Review, relevant theories and research were reviewed to help develop the conceptual form. The conceptual form acted as a guide for the design of interview questions. So the categories of the data approximately matched to the structure of the interview questions. At the same time, efforts were made to leave enough space for new categories to emerge during the interview.

In the third stage of cross-case comparison and analytical generalization, different pieces of data including the relevant stories and comments from parents' and children's narratives were mapped to the initial categories to compare and examine in terms of the similarities, differences, and relationships with each other. Through comparing and contrasting different cases, analytical generation was achieved. Under the same themes, answers from participants showed the similarities and differences of their experiences and interpretations.

In this chapter, themes are identified under six categories: (a) Chinese immigrant families' life experiences of the transition from China to Canada; (b) Chinese immigrant parents and children's culturally identification and the children's Chinese language maintenance and English learning; (c) Chinese immigrant children's schooling experiences and their parents' feedback; (d) Role model and peer influence; (e) Chinese immigrant parents' values and beliefs regarding children's education in Canada; and (f) Parenting in Chinese immigrant families. These categories cover Chinese immigrant families' experiences from the general living experiences of immigration to the detailed schooling experiences in Canada and then to their specific thoughts regarding educational expectations. The elements that constituted the categories and the themes are represented either by the quote from the participants' narratives or paraphrases representing their

personal stories and meaning-making reflections. It is necessary to note that the theme sentences convey the important meanings that emerged from the data, but the actual depth and richness of the meanings existed in the participating Chinese immigrant parents and students' stories and interpretations.

New Life in Canada: the Transition

Chinese immigrant families came to Canada for different reasons with different backgrounds. The families in this research covered almost all the immigration types: investment immigration, skilled immigration, family reunion immigration, and immigration after graduation from Canadian universities. Every family had its own story about immigration and settling down in this country.

Chinese parents' experiences of the transition related to many aspects in their lives including their experiences of searching for employment, financial struggle, psychological pressure and adjustment, and taking care of children. Some mothers faced the situation of temporary separation from their husbands, who were still working in China. The children's experiences of the transition were mainly confined in school context, like courses, language barriers, and peer relationships. In the life course of immigration, both parents' and children's feelings and understandings were strongly related to their previous life experiences in China and how they perceive their new experiences in Canada.

Parents' Voice

Parents' narratives were mixed of their emotional feelings and rational thinking about their transition life from China to Canada. Every parent's experience was unique;

at the same time, Chinese parents shared common concerns and faced similar tough situations. Reflecting on the early years' experiences living in Canada, children's education and better future had been one of the most important motivations for Chinese immigrant parents to work hard to resettle in the new country.

“Life is simpler in Canada.”

All the parents mentioned that they felt life was better in Canada because of the simplicity of interpersonal relationships and the transparency of the social system and policies. Parents found it was much easier to get things done by following the right route instead of using the “back door tricks” (zou hou men, 走后门), which are built up through human relationships (guan xi, 关系).

Parents expressed big relief since they did not need to deal with the complicated interpersonal relationships any more. They did not need to worry about other people's comments and try to make other people happy. They also enjoyed more freedom to just focus on their family, study, and work without being distracted by other social or culture related constraints. The mother from family Guo said:

When I was in China, no matter what I said and what I did, I needed to think about whether the people around me, like my colleagues and my friends or my relatives, were happy. It felt like life was not just for me. I had to consider many other people's feelings and comments. After I came to Canada, although life was tough in the beginning, I could spend all my time and energy on my family without worrying about pleasing other people. Now I can say that life is just about me and my family, not for other people.

In China, most workplaces showed obvious bureaucratic characteristics that drew a clear line between employers and employees or among employees according to their positions. Thus, employers or employees in superior positions had the authority.

Chinese immigrant parents commented about the differences they found in their workplaces in Canada. They described their employers as “easy going,” “friendly,” “down to earth,” and “humble.” Like the father from family Dong said:

I had many years’ working experiences in China. There was obvious hierarchy in a bureaucratic system of my workplace in China. I understood how important the interpersonal relationships were to get the things done or get the equal opportunity. Now I am working here, it surprises me that the boss in my working place is so nice and friendly. He wears normal clothes, has conversation with us like friends, behave very humble. In this kind of working place, I don’t need to please anybody. I just need to finish my work. It is very simple. Although I feel tired physically because I am doing a labour job now, however, I feel psychologically relieved and easy.

Parents also mentioned that fair evaluation system in their workplaces relieved them from building interpersonal relationships to look for opportunities to get promoted or get recognized for their work. Instead, they can just let their work speak for them.

The mother from family Feng said:

Life is simple here because people just need to be themselves and let their work speak for them. In China, some of the institutions and policies are not transparent to the public. Sometimes people need human relationships and resources to seek opportunities to stand out. Just working hard is not enough. Young people don’t have many opportunities to get promotion. They have to work from the bottom no matter how good they are. They have to wait until they become senior and accumulate enough human resources to get more opportunities.

Parents were also happy with the natural environment in Canada, which was much better than in China. They mentioned the less pollution, the fresh air, the food security, and beautiful natural scenery. The biggest lack in their lives was they had small social circle. They believed life could be better if they had more relatives and friends in Canada. Most Chinese immigrant families developed their circle of friends in their workplace or

by attending activities organized for immigrant families. Most of their close friend relationships were still in the Chinese immigrant community. Their socialization with local Canadian people was limited.

“I prefer to forget about my job searching experience.”

The process of resettlement was a journey full of difficulties and uncertainties. Searching for employment was one of the biggest challenges for most Chinese immigrant parents. In this research, most parents had completed post-secondary education and had professional jobs in China before they came to Canada. However, they experienced more difficulties in searching for stable employment in Canada than expected, despite their educational background and professional credentials from China. They felt frustrated and stressed when their hopeful dreams were confronted by the harsh realities in Canada. Some parents felt so frustrated about their search for work in Canada, that they even doubted whether or not immigration had been a good choice. For example, the mother from family Chen said:

I had mixed feeling about immigrating to Canada in the first few years of living here because it was so tough for me. Although I had prepared myself to face some challenges, I did not realize the big difference between my plan for the new life and the real new life. Some of the experiences like job searching, actually I don't want to look back on and think about that any more. I prefer to forget about it. I had a stable job as clerk in China. I did not have much pressure from my job. After coming to Canada, my biggest frustration came from my job searching experiences. It was so difficult that I questioned myself whether the decision of immigration was right.

Like most other immigrant parents who had no educational and work experiences in Canada, she had to work non-stop to support her family financially. Most of the jobs she could find were labour jobs. In order to find a stable job, she took courses in accounting and hoped to get any type of accounting related jobs. She explained that

getting an accounting diploma was nothing to do with her interest. The only reason she chose this major was because she was so eager to find a job in Canada. She asked a few Chinese friends who had immigrated earlier. Her friends suggested that accounting was an easy major for Chinese immigrants to pick up and this major also had good potential to help her find a job. So she took courses in accounting and studied hard to successfully get the diploma in less in two years. At the same time, she needed to do part time jobs and to take care of her son.

But employment did not work out as she had wished. She did not know that the job market had changed after so many Asian immigrants and students had chosen accounting to secure jobs in Canada. She failed to find a job in accounting:

It was unfortunate that I did not succeed getting a job in accounting because there were so many obstacles along the way. I expected to just deal with numbers when I applied for accounting jobs, however, the employer requested the primary accounting staff to cover some administrative responsibilities like answering the phones and customer reception. I was not confident to cover these tasks because of the language barriers. It made me so stressed. The employer also preferred to hire people who had at least three to five years' working experiences in accounting. I was short of experience in this field. Besides, most employers tended to hire younger candidates. Because of these obstacles, I barely got job opportunities, not to mention found a suitable job in accounting. I did try to work for a small company before, but did not continue working there because I could not handle the pressure.

She expected life would be better for her family after she found a permanent job. She told herself to be patient and stay positive. But it did not work out the way she had expected. She went back to her part-time job in the city public library as a casual staff. After seven years of living in Canada, she felt grateful for what she gained and she was happy with her life. She did not go back to China often because she worried that her job could be taken over by others as she did not have the guaranteed holiday time as a casual

staff. She also persuaded herself that her son's educational achievement was priority, no matter how many difficulties she had been through. As long as her son could succeed, all her sacrifice and hard work would pay off. Her son had received two offers from University of Waterloo and University of Alberta, majoring in computer science and he was waiting for other offers. She said her son could go to university without going through the fierce competitive process in China was the most important reward for her seven years of hard work in Canada.

This mother's experiences of searching for employment were shared by many other Chinese immigrant parents. For example, the mother from family Shen had been living in Singapore for eight years before moving to Canada, but the new life in Canada was no easier for her even though she had work experiences in both China and Singapore:

I was a senior finance manager before I came to Canada. I have been living in Canada for over two years without any full time job. My English was better than most of the middle age Chinese immigrant women because I had working experiences in Singapore for many years, but it was still hard for me to find a job. I told myself I needed to do some work not just for money but for training myself to feel comfortable to communicate with people. Lately I started to work in a buffet restaurant as waitress. Immediately I found the difference between me and other Chinese immigrant women working there. In my whole life, I never worked in a restaurant before. I was not interested in the topics my co-workers usually talked about. For example, they liked to gossip about others or compare their children's studies. I felt depressed facing such a big transition in my life. Sometimes my son tried to comfort me. He suggested I should give up on my high expectations about the new life in Canada. Just take it easy and enjoy myself like what he was doing. But how can I enjoy myself if I cannot find a job. If life cannot get better, why did we move here? I don't think I can enjoy life before I find a stable job in my professional field.

Family Dong's story was another example of a Chinese immigrant family in their transition lives. The father in this family was a doctor in traditional Chinese medicine and his wife was a nurse in obstetrics and gynaecology. They had been living in Canada

for over three years. The father was working in a factory and the mother was working in a Chinese restaurant as waitress. They worked hard to support the family since they had financial burden. The father often took night shifts because there were not enough people taking the night shifts. They rented the main floor of their house to four Chinese international students because the rent was higher for the main floor. The whole family lived in the basement. The father was positive about their future lives despite his busy work schedule and the big change of his social status:

I know it is impossible for me to be a medical doctor in this country. When I decided to come to Canada, I was prepared to live a different life here. The only job I can get is labour job currently, which I am okay with. I tend to look at the bright side of life. My motivation of moving here was for my children rather than for myself. I believe they will have better opportunity here. I am happy to work hard to live this new life. In addition, the insurance system in this country is good. As long as I pay for my insurance, when I am ready to retire, I can just live a normal retirement life here. It is no big deal. My children's future is more important.

Some Chinese immigrant parents eventually settled down on professional jobs after many years' accumulation of work experiences and self-improvement. Some of them went back to school to get a degree from a Canadian university then slowly accumulated their work experiences from small enterprise to bigger enterprise. Some worked for Chinese employers first to train themselves how to apply their professional knowledge to the new working environment in Canada, and then looked for opportunities to work for a Canadian enterprise.

The mother from family Guo spent six years to officially get a stable job in Canada. She was a math teacher in China. Living in Canada, she worked as sewing worker, waitress, and many other part-time jobs in the first few years. At the same time,

she took courses in computer science in university. She described her life in those years as isolated, busy, and difficult:

It was very difficult for me to find a stable job because of my language barriers and lacking of work experiences here. So I spent the first year mainly at home taking care of my son and learning English. After I got my work permit in the second year, I started to do a lot of jobs like waitressing and sewing clothes in factory for about two years. I understood I was in a disadvantage position to find a stable job if I did not have any education background in Canada. So I went to university to study in computer science. During that time, I had to study, work, and take care of my son. My family also had financial pressure because both my husband and I had limited salary. I did not have good knowledge about Canadian society back then. I did not know that we could apply for some bursaries for low-income family or get some help from the government as new immigrants. We all depended on ourselves to get through the tough time. After graduating from university, I finally found a stable job after six years' living in Canada.

Searching for employment was a crucial step for new Chinese immigrant parents.

This was strongly related to whether or not they had a regular income and the extent to which they felt involved in Canadian society. If it took too long for them to find a job, not only did they have the financial worries, but also they experienced the isolation from society, which made them feel more like travelers or outsiders in Canada. The above stories by Chinese immigrant parents, showed the difficulties of their job searching experiences. The parents who came to Canada as international students and then stayed afterwards or the parents came to Canada with educational or professional background matched the needs of job market in Canada had smoother job search and career transition experiences.

“I should have done better when he was young.”

When Chinese immigrant parents looked back at the first few years' living in Canada, they all made one similar comment that they wished they should have done

better or done more for their children at that time. Because of their busy work schedule to support family financially and their lack of knowledge about the Canadian society, they expressed dissatisfaction with their work in taking care of their children in the first few years' transition life. Like the mother from family Guo said: "I should have done better when my son was young."

Some parents mentioned they did not pay attention to their children's emotional lack or loneliness when they just moved to Canada. Parents tried their best to take care of their children physically but did not care enough about their children's emotional problem of adjusting to the new society. For example, the mother from family Chen said:

I was very busy with working and studying. Sometimes I felt stressed and frustrated even doubted my decision of immigration. So I did not pay much attention about my son's feelings. I should have cared more about his feelings of moving to a different country at the age of ten. I was not sure whether my son was happy or not, whether he felt lonely or something missing in his life when we just got here. I did notice sometimes he was quiet and refused to go to school. I did not know why. But I guess there was something going on in the school that made him upset. I asked my son whether I am a good mom and what should I do to improve. He did not answer me directly. It seemed like he had something to say, but was hesitant to say it out loud maybe because he did not want to hurt my feeling.

This mother raised a common issue that existed in new immigrant families: emotional adjustment and mental health. This problem existed in both parents and children. Parents needed to work hard to financially support the family. They also needed to deal with the big change of their social status and to adjust their feelings. For the children, they did not have friends and they had to take their courses in another language. This mother described her feeling as "timid" and "fear" when she tried to make more contact with the outside world. Sometimes she had to do things out of her comfort zone to get things done, and she felt depressed. She assumed her son's life was

pretty simple; he just needed to go to school and finish his homework. But when she sat down to talk about the early years of living in Canada, she questioned whether her son was happy or not after moving to Canada. She said she just did not have time and energy to care about her son's emotional problems at that time.

Some parents said they did not know how to make the best use of the public services infrastructure to help the children fully integrated into the new society and to get more opportunities to socialize with Canadian-born children because they had limited social circle and knowledge about Canadian society. In China, typically parents place an emphasis on their children's studies. They hire family tutors to improve children's studies or help children practise musical instrument at home. Some Chinese students attend the after school talent training programs. When Chinese immigrant families came to Canada, they had limited information channels to learn about the social infrastructure and services in Canada. They did not know how to start to get their children involved in local students' after-school activities. So when Chinese immigrant students went to Canadian school, they were okay with the courses, but they had a hard time fitting in with peers out of the classroom. For example, the daughter from family Li said that she felt like an idiot because she did not know how to play all kinds of sports like local Canadian girls. Some Chinese students felt uncomfortable attending after-school activities or physical education courses because they could not do well in those activities and courses, which made some of them have low self-esteem among their peers in school. The mother from family Guo shared her feelings regarding this issue:

When I just got here, I did not know what kind of infrastructure was free for children. I did not know what kind of policy could be applied on new immigrants to help us solve some problems or get some financial help from the government. When my son came to Canada when he was five years old, I cooked for him and

supervised his homework. But that was it. I did not take him to any after-school activities to let him develop some arts or sports talent because I did not know how to do it. I was also busy with my part time jobs to help out my family financially. When I had my second child who was born in Canada, I had more knowledge about this country. I did all I could to provide my second child whatever she needed for her development. Thus, I found there was a big difference of raising my first son and second daughter mostly due to my own experience and knowledge about this country.

Some parents mentioned that they could have been better parents if they had more knowledge about Western culture and the educational system in Canada instead of imposing the typical Chinese parenting on their children. In China, both parents and children face the pressure to make sure children can get high grades. When they came to Canada, it was hard for parents to give up their Chinese parenting style in a short time, especially when it came to their children's schoolwork. For example, they gave children extra homework, or required children to study for a certain amount of time every day after school. Some parents thought it was more important to give children extra homework because there was not enough homework from school. Besides, parents felt it was urgent to strictly supervise children's schoolwork to make sure their children could catch up with local students, considering that their children faced language barriers. There were conflicts between parents and children because of parents' strict requirement. Some parents expressed their regrets that their relationship with children could have been better if they had adjusted their parenting to the new social context more effectively. For example, the mother from family Guo said:

In the first two years, I supervised my son to finish his homework. I gave him some math test to do. All boys like to go out playing after school. Sometimes he was not so happy to stay at home doing math. Actually, compared with other Chinese parents, I had very few requests about my son's study and gave more freedom to him. But still, I behaved like typical Chinese parent. I wish I could have changed my way a little bit and communicate more with my son. I felt like

my son grew up too fast before I realized I should do more for him. He experienced the family's transition with us. In these years, I also tried to improve myself and build a career in Canada. So I don't think I have given all my time and attention to my son.

Chinese immigrant parents gave humble comments with respect to their devotion to their children's schooling and development in Canada. No matter how much they did for their children, they always questioned whether they had done enough, or whether they were good parents. There might be discrepancy between their expectations for themselves with respect to taking care of their children and what they could provide at particular time when they were starting their new lives in Canada, with the distraction from their work and emotional problems they might have. Most parents mentioned that their second child received better care because life had become better by then and they had better knowledge about Canadian society.

Children's Voice

Chinese immigrant children's experiences of transition lives were mainly manifested in the school context. Language barriers and lack of social science knowledge about Canada became Chinese immigrant children's weakness on their studies. Peer interaction was another critical issue for them. The age of arrival was shown as a salient factor influencing how well Chinese immigrant students could adjust to the new environment because this factor was directly related with how fast they could overcome the language barriers, pick up the courses, and get involved in Canadian-born students' lives.

“Language is the biggest challenge.”

In China, most students start to learn English from junior high school. In some big cities, elementary schools also provide English classes. Some families would enrol their children to learn English from kindergarten if affordable. Although all the immigrant children had English learning experiences in China, their English language proficiency stayed at the sentence and grammar learning stage. They did not have many opportunities to use English in real-life context on a daily basis. Most of them had a tough time improving their listening and speaking ability in English. Of course immersion into a total English teaching school environment helped them improve English and deal with courses within a shorter time period. However, it took them a longer time to feel sufficiently comfortable to communicate with peers and to accumulate enough knowledge about Canada to catch up in the social science courses. For example, the son from family Wei said:

I picked up English really quick, but my English is still not as good as my classmates. I keep learning English every day. I still have trouble to understand the curriculum especially arts and social science material. For example, in sociology, the teacher usually ask about our opinions and comments on certain events, my English is not so good, plus I don't have enough background knowledge about Canadian society and history, so I have nothing to say in the class. I try to watch and listen to local news to help myself be more familiar with what is going on in this country and how people talk about social issues. I am doing much better on math and other scientific courses.

He explained that his language barriers not only influenced his course taking but also influenced making friends in school:

Schoolwork was not hard. I think the hard thing was peers. I felt awkward to make friends with others when I just got here. Currently, most of my friends are immigrant students because we share the similar backgrounds. It is easier for us to get along. For example, I have friends who are from South Africa, Latin America, and China.

The new immigrant teenagers had a hard time getting into the mainstream peer group in school. Taking ESL courses made their study schedule different from others, which made it more difficult to make friends out of the ESL class. So most new Chinese immigrant students made friends in the ESL class where they felt more comfortable talking with their peers who shared similar experiences with them. The daughter from family Li said:

The first year in Canada, I spent half day in the normal class taking courses, half day in the ESL class. Of course most of my friends were Asian immigrant children. You know Asian immigrants were a lot more than immigrants from other places. We learned English together. It was very natural for us to get close because we spent a lot of time in the ESL class.

Chinese immigrant students agreed that English was their biggest challenge in the transition life in Canada. Language was not a big issue for them in terms of their school courses after they got used to the teaching and course material. But language strongly influenced their communication and social capability in the school environment.

“I will keep the peace if they don’t get too aggressive.”

For Chinese immigrant teenager who had just moved to Canada, it was inevitable for them to feel social difficulty and nervous to go to a Canadian school. In the interviews, they talked about their unpleasant experiences in a conservative way. They did not want to talk about the specific insulting words and sentences they had heard from their peers at school. They usually chose to keep the peace by ignoring the rude comments and behaviour from others or tried to avoid socializing with unfriendly peers. Like the son from family Wei said, “I will keep the peace if they don’t get too aggressive”:

I need to deal with the occasional unfriendly incidents caused by my classmates. Some students were not so nice to me, but their unfriendly behaviours were not so serious, I can handle it. Normally I just ignored it when they said something insulting to me. I did not really understand what the insulting words mean. But I was pretty sure that the words were not very kind, most likely were some words to make fun of Asian people. If they stopped doing this when they found I did not give them any attention then we would be fine. However, if they kept bothering me even when I tried to ignore them, I would tell on them to the teacher and let the teacher deal with it. It happened a few times that the vice principal put the students who were not well-behaved in detention. I am not afraid of the students who try to make a hassle because I know how to protect myself.

For younger Chinese immigrant students who came to Canada when they were at the age of kindergarten or early elementary school, they behaved more fearlessly or were less sensitive about the changed school environment. For example, the son in family Dong, who was in Grade 2, said he did not really worry about going to a Canadian school. He just listened to parents, learned English, and played with other children:

I can understand most of the content teacher taught at school. Sometimes I answered teacher's questions. I had trouble to understand certain content, which were related to Canadian history and culture, but it was okay. It did not impact my study too much. I really enjoy going to school here because there is no homework and I have a lot of time playing with my friends or staying at home to play computer games after school.

He also spoke about how he had behaved in the school and how he had observed other students' behaviours. He was happy that he was not the biggest trouble-maker in his class. He did not have problem getting along with other students. He made a few friends who lived close. He wanted to have more time to play with them:

Sometimes I was a little naughty in school, but never too serious. Teacher would talk with my sister when she sent me to school in the morning about my naughty behaviour at school. I think I am not so naughty comparing with other students because I have never been punished by the teacher yet. There was one student he was so naughty and always got punished. Teacher put him in detention for a few days. His parents came to school often because of his bad behaviours. Then he cried and ran away because he did not want to come to school anymore. But he

eventually came back and still enjoyed making troubles. It was funny to watch other students making troubles at school. I can get along with most of my classmates. We feel we are all the same no matter where we are from, and there is no difference. I know a boy who is living in my neighbourhood. He is from the Middle East. I play with him sometimes.

It seemed the age of landing was a big factor that influenced immigrant children's transition process to Canadian schooling environment. Teenagers were more conscious about their different identities in school, and their peers can feel the difference too. For younger immigrant students, they simply did not care about the difference or they were too young to build the guard between each other.

“The gap between me and my friends in China becomes bigger and bigger.”

Teenagers and early adolescents are at an important phase of their development. It is easy for them to learn new things and to be influenced when the society around them changed. For some Chinese immigrant students, living in Canada gave them the opportunity to experience a different culture and life style. Thus, they found that, after living in Canada for a few years, the gap between them and their friends in China became bigger and bigger. It also meant they had slowly changed. For example, they started to realize that they should support themselves financially to the best of their capability rather than depending on parents. Their attitude and vision about their future lives also developed differently, as compared to their friends in China. The daughter from family Dong said:

Young people here are more independent. It is normal for them to do part time jobs even when their families don't have any financial pressure. It is natural for them to live on themselves when they reach certain age. I am doing part time jobs because I want to earn some money to pay for my expenses like cellphone bills and also get some working experience. When my friend in China knew that I was doing part time job here, she felt unbelievable because she thought I should go to

university immediately after I got to Canada. But I need some time to prepare myself like English and figure out how to apply for university. If I am still in China, I am supposed to spend all my time to prepare for university. However, nobody does this here. I don't want to spend all my time preparing for university and let my parents support me financially.

She described her opinion regarding how Chinese parents spoil their children and how the children financially depend on parents too much:

In China, parents always provide everything for their children. I notice there are more and more Chinese international students in university here, many of them drive fancy brand new cars. Many of my friends like to show off on internet about what kind of luxury product they purchased. I know they do not have a job yet, so most of their consumption still depends on their parents. I don't understand this.

She also mentioned her vision about future life, as becoming more and more different from her friends' in China:

I guess my friends in China have different definition of happiness. They may emphasize the material part to make they feel happy. People here feel happy to just have a coffee in their spare time or have a family trip. People here have passion to enjoy life, people in China are so busy making money, don't spend enough time to really enjoy life. I want to travel more to see the world. Of course money is important, but I don't expect to make big money. Life in Canada could be good as long as I can make a living through my job.

She said she wanted to know more local Canadian-born friends. She really appreciated Canadian young people's life style. She wanted to move to a bigger city in the future and to explore more about Canada.

Summary and Discussion

When Chinese immigrant families started their new life in Canada, both parents and children needed to face different challenges. Immigration experience was a process of social adaption for both Chinese immigrant parents and children.

In parents' narratives, "Simple," "isolated" and "tough" were the most frequently mentioned words, which portrayed the basic picture of Chinese immigrant parents' transitional life in Canada.

Chinese immigrant parents appreciated the simplicity of the lifestyle in Canada. They focused on working for a better future for their families without the distraction from dealing with politics and human relationships. In the first few years, most parents felt isolated because of language barriers and minimum knowledge about Canadian society. They had to depend on themselves and the information from the Chinese immigrant community to explore the ways to find their positions in Canada. In addition, they felt lonely without relatives and friends around. Parents who did not have stable jobs in Canada experienced more loneliness and frustration because they did not have channels to enlarge their social circle.

Searching for employment was one of the most important challenges for new immigrant parents. Most parents experienced doing trivial or labour jobs despite their educational and professional background in China. When they had tough time to find a job, most of them chose to go back to school to get some relevant education that matched the need of the job market in Canada such as accounting or computer science. They sacrificed their professional experience and interest to secure a better life in a short time. What the parents had experienced when they tried to build a career in Canada later influenced their educational expectations for their children. Parents who came to Canada as international students and then stayed or came with a professional background that matched the job market need in Canada had smoother transition process.

Looking back to the transition life, most parents wished they could have done more for their children to help them adjust to the new environment better, like caring more about children's emotional problems and helping them be more involved in local peers' lives. Some also mentioned that they should have adjusted their Chinese parenting style sooner according to the changed school environment. So they expressed their regrets about neglecting their children due to their busy work schedule, their own psychological stress at that time, and their unfamiliarity with the new society.

Chinese immigrant children were glad that the schoolwork load was much less and they enjoyed more liberal school culture and student-centered teaching style. The biggest challenge for them was language barriers. Peer interaction was another challenge for immigrant students because of the language barriers and culture differences. They felt upset sometimes and needed to face the occasional unfriendly comments and behaviours from peers at school. The age of arriving in Canada seemed to be a salient factor that would affect the efficiency of Chinese immigrant children's adjustment to the new environment. Children who came to Canada as teenagers were more conscious about their own identity and background as immigrants. As newcomers, they showed some behavioural and emotional problems. Most of them needed to go through a process of settlement, adaptation, and integration. They needed to take on academic challenges and do well on study. At the same time, they needed to gain recognition from peer groups, and develop social competence. For children who moved to Canada at age of kindergarten or early elementary school, the transition was less problematic because it was relatively easy for them to take in new things and to quickly get used to the new environment.

Despite the fact that some Chinese immigrant parents felt frustrated about job searching and Chinese immigrant children need to pick up another language and become involved in a totally different school context, they all showed high motivation to tackle the difficulties and to stay positive for their future lives. Parents understood that life was tough for them as first-generation immigrants in Canada. They tried to catch every opportunity to accumulate experiences and social resources to make their lives move forward and get better. They all mentioned that their children had the opportunity to grow up in Canada and to receive education in Canadian schooling system were the best rewards for their hard work over many years in Canada. Immigrant children felt fortunate that they did not need to study under big pressure and go through intense competition in Chinese schools anymore. Besides, they appreciated the new life style in Canada.

Cultural Identification and Language Learning: the Belonging

As Rosenthal and Feldman (1992) explained, cultural identification is assessed by the extent to which individuals engage in culturally expected behaviours, the importance of maintaining these behaviours, their knowledge of the culture, and the value ascribed to their ethnic origins. Chinese immigrant parents' and children's cultural identification were reflected in their commitment and engagement to both Chinese and the host country's cultural values and behaviours. As Liu (2010) said, for Chinese immigrants, rebuilding their cultural identification in a new country is a process of representation, reposition, and reconstruction. Embracing new social norms and maintenance the ethnic culture are mutually intertwined in this process.

Chinese immigrant students' language choice was closely connected with their cultural identification construction. Chinese language maintaining and English learning were two tasks faced by all Chinese immigrant students. Comparing to learning English as a natural and necessary responsibility for them, Chinese language maintenance was more like a burden to most Chinese immigrant students. Chinese language maintenance conceptualized in both attitudinal and behavioural dimensions. There were different factors affecting Chinese immigrant students' English learning and Chinese language maintenance, such as age of immigration, length of residence in Canada, parents' attitude, language use at home, peer interaction, and school environment.

Parents' Voice

Chinese immigrant parents' cultural identification was shown in their acculturation toward host country's culture and their attitude towards and efforts on maintaining their inherited culture. When parents sought to reproduce their social values, cultures and customs in Canada, it was like unpacking their baggage from China. They cannot totally transfer what they believed and used to do in China to Canada. They selected something they desired to keep and tried to learn new things in Canada. Throughout this process, parents were also obliged to negotiate the differences between their ethnic culture and the mainstream culture in Canada. The Change in their cultural identification was not unidirectional; instead, it was a process of reflecting on their ethnic culture and learning the new culture.

“It is impossible to be totally integrated in the mainstream culture.”

Recent Chinese immigrant parents understood the difficulties of involving in Canadian society. The mother from family Liang asserted that it had been impossible for

herself and her teenage son to be totally integrated in Canadian life and culture. She believed there would be always obstacles for Chinese immigrant families to be integrated into the mainstream culture. She explained:

I am happy to learn as much as I can about Canadian society and culture even though I know it is impossible for us to be totally involved in local Canadian's lives. It is natural for us to explore and learn about this country. But I don't think we can be in the mainstream culture no matter how hard we try. The reason is simple. I grew up in China. My son is a teenager who had received more than ten years' education in China. We can learn Canadian culture through the words in a book. But local Canadian people grow up in this culture. The culture is in their hearts.

With this idea in her mind, she did not isolate herself and her son from learning to adjust to Canadian society. She was active to take as much information which was useful for her career building or for her son's education as she could. She had been trying her best to push her son into environments with more Canadian-born English speaking peers rather than to keep him in the Chinese immigrant students' group. One example showed her effort to do so was she chose a Catholic school in Vancouver for her son's first year study in Canada:

My son came to Canada one year earlier than me. I came to join him the second year. I knew it was difficult for him to be accepted by local peer groups. But I tried to provide him the environment that would help him get more access to make new friends and adjust to the new life. I sent him to a Catholic School in Vancouver for his first year's study in Canada. I refused the list of schools suggested by Chinese immigration agency because they always send new immigrant students to a school with lots of Chinese children. I wanted my son to make friends with English speaking children. I wanted him to explore his new life in Canada rather than to stay in the Chinese students group.

Helping her son find a sense of belonging in the new environment was another concern of this mother. Through her observation and communication with other immigrant parents, she found different peer groups among teenage boys: top students

group (students who are good at study and hang out together), sports group (students who are good at sports, attend lots of games, and spend time training together), and computer game group (students who enjoy playing online computer games together). She encouraged her son to find his own group and socialize with other peers, no matter what group it was. Additionally, she encouraged her son to join sport teams in school, to attend different activities, and even to date girls. Her simple motivation was to ensure her son wouldn't feel isolated in the new environment.

Different from the mother's strong motivation to push her son to get involved in peers' activities and social lives, her son was not so passionate or active to make Canadian-born English speaking friends. He always preferred to stay in the Chinese immigrant students' circle. The language barriers and the culture differences seemed to be the salient obstacles for him to make new friends outside of his ethnic group. He kept frequent contacts with his friends in China. In the spare time, he hung out with another Chinese boy a lot and invited this boy to live at his house when this boy's parents were away. He talked with his mother about cultural difference using one example: he refused his mom's suggestion to date Canadian girls after he found the girls in his school would talk about their relationships rather than being low-key, which he could neither understand nor accept. In summary, there were conflicts between the mother and the son regarding to what extent the teenage boy should get involved in local Canadian peers' social lives: the mother tried to push her son to the local English speaking Canadian peer groups; while her son preferred to stay in his Chinese peer group.

Some Chinese immigrant parents commented that they integrated into Canadian society was out of their families' best interests rather than tried to be more Canadian. In

truth, they did not expect to be totally assimilated into Canadian society. They did not care much about politics or other social endeavours if these issues were not closely relevant to their families. They cared more about their own family life. In addition, how much of the new culture they wanted and needed to learn seemed to also be tied with their personalities, styles of learning, and motivations along with how their objectives were prioritised. For example, the mother from family Guo said:

I have been living in Canada for approximately twenty years. Until now, I still cannot say that I have good knowledge about Canadian society. I think it is not easy to be totally involved in Western lives. However, I was not so determined to be involved in everything here. Both of my husband and me are quite conservative maybe due to our career backgrounds. He has always been doing research, and I was a math teacher back in China, so both of us were not so socially active. We are not interested in politics either. We only pay attention to the political candidates in our residential district. Generally, to what extent we would like to be involved in Canadian society depends on how close the specific things are relevant to our lives, or whether these things are beneficial to our society.

Another example was given by the mother from family Wei. As a new immigrant parent, she intended to make the best use of her time to efficiently adjust to her new life in Canada. She mainly spent her time learning English and taking care of her children. She was not interested to attend other social activities provided for immigrants because she did not see the necessity of making many friends or getting further information about living in Canada. She explained she was shy and she only cared about the useful information for her family regarding children's education and her career development. Also she looked at herself as a foreigner in Canada with little passion for local civil life. For her children, she supposed that making friends was not hard because they were going to school every day, which was a good channel for them to make new friends naturally.

Compared to her children's interpersonal relationships with peers, she cared more about her children's study progress.

“I am still a learner.”

While most Chinese immigrant parents deemed they could not fully integrate into Canadian society, they all maintained positive attitude and an open mind to learn Canadian culture despite some of them showing more passion or initiative than others. Living in Canada had given Chinese immigrant parents the opportunities to meet with people from different ethnic groups and to experience the different cultures in their work places and daily lives. Chinese immigrant parents tended to be more inclusive and neutral to things and opinions different from their own ways of saying and doing things. They viewed their immigration lives as a learning process in which there were many obstacles to overcome. Just like the mother from the family Guo said: “I am still a learner after living in Canada for almost twenty years”:

I feel like I was a foreigner when I just got here. After the initial adjustment, I see my life experience in this country as a learning process. I would like to learn more about this society and have a better understanding about it. I realized that Canadian society is quite free and open. Everybody living here has the freedom to make their choices in their lives. I learned to respect other people's choices and try not to make my judgement too quick before I learn the reasons behind every choice since everything happens for a reason and every choice has its ground.

She gave one example about collectivism and individualism to explain how she learned about the cultural difference in China and Canada. She said Chinese culture emphasizes collectivism, but in real life some Chinese people are self-centered and competitive. While Western culture advocates individualism, which means people has his or her speciality and significance. She found that individualism doesn't necessarily mean everybody only cares about his or her own interest. Chinese people's self-

centeredness might be hidden under their collectivist culture. They want the best for themselves, which is understandable because they have to compete with each other to stand out considering the limited resources and huge population in China. She also mentioned that sometimes the discrimination and vicious competition among different groups of Chinese immigrants like Cantonese group and Mandarin group were more serious than the discrimination from other ethnic groups in Canada.

Most of the Chinese immigrant parents still felt more confident and easier to socialize within Chinese communities, in spite of they were happy to socialize with people from other ethnic groups. Their ways of communicating with people outside of the Chinese group most likely would stay in the etiquette reciprocity level. They had formed their ways to socialize with different groups of people. But it was hard for them to develop deeper levels of relationships with people out of Chinese group. For example, the mother from family Wu said:

Of course I feel more comfortable to be around my Chinese friends. We can talk about everything. We don't have relatives in Canada, so the friendship between us is precious and long lasting. We get together often, like Christmas, spring festival, or every weekend. For example, we play badminton every Saturday morning. When I was around my Canadian colleagues and friends, my behaviour and attitude cannot be as casual or relaxing as when I was with my Chinese friends. After many years, I have already formed a mode of socializing with my Canadian colleagues, which matches the Western custom but is not good enough to make us become close friends.

Chinese immigrant parents identified themselves from "foreigner" to "learner" regarding their cultural identifications in Canada. Their acculturation towards the host country's culture did not mean that they identified themselves less with Chinese culture. They still kept strong value orientations rooted in Chinese culture. Besides, their social circle was mainly in Chinese immigrant community.

“My daughter should be proud to be a real Canadian.”

What were Chinese immigrant parents’ ideas about their children’s cultural identifications? Most Chinese immigrant parents did not express strong intention of raising their children to be more Chinese or more Canadian. Instead, they stressed their children should embrace their backgrounds and find their positions in Canada. The mother from family Wu gave a good summarization regarding how her daughter should identify themselves in Canada. She said: “my daughter should be very proud to be a real Canadian”:

As for Western culture, it is impossible for me to stand at a completely neutral position to give comments because I am Chinese. I told my daughters that their parents are Chinese. They are Chinese Canadians. They were born here and growing up here, so they should see themselves as real Canadians. They sing the Canadian national anthem, will take a Canadian political stance, and will contribute to this country in the future. I use many examples to help my daughters understand that to be a real Canadian is what they should see themselves. For example, when we watch the Olympic Games, they should cheer for Canada. They are welcome to cheer for China if they want to. I wish my daughters can find their roots rather than live like duckweed without their identities. I told them if they are good people, respect other people, contribute to Canadian society, and have high self-esteem. They will receive the respects from other people. They cannot change the colour of their skin, but deep in their hearts, they should know that they are not drifting around, they should be proud to be real Canadians.

The core qualities this mother wished for her daughters to have included: be confident, be strong, have high self-esteem, respect people from different ethnic backgrounds, be proud to be Canadian, and celebrate for the success of Canada. She believed that immigrant children’s own self-esteem and judgement would help them face the potential discriminations or racism.

Similarly, other Chinese immigrant parents all commented that their children should embrace their immigrant background by inheriting the good qualities from both Chinese culture and mainstream culture in Canada to be good people and to make contributions to the Canadian society. For example, the mother from family Guo said:

Both my children are very Western because my first son came to Canada at an early age and my second daughter was born here. My children mainly get some Chinese cultural influence in the family environment through me and my husband. For my generation, Confucianism had the greatest influence on us. My husband and I provide some opportunities for our children to learn Chinese culture. However, we prefer not to force them to learn or accept Chinese culture and tradition. I don't have any preference regarding how to balance Chinese culture and Western culture in my children's education. It is better to leave the freedom to my children to choose when they grow up. I can expect that, for certain things, they will prefer the Chinese ways, for others, they will prefer the Western ways. It is their choice. I will respect and support their choices as long as they are happy about their own choices and the choices they made won't bring any bad influence to the society or other people.

Parents mentioned that the Canadian government's cultural diversity policy was actually not relevant to their lives on a daily basis. The multiculturalism policy was obscure to be understood and hard to be carried out because it was an ideology. Parents believed the important thing was to give children the right family education regarding multiple cultures and ethnic groups in Canada. They hoped their children would be culturally grounded themselves in Canada and not get lost or just follow other people without their own beliefs and judgements. The mother from family Wu said if all children could appreciate different culture and respect people of different descent, Canada would be the best country in the world.

“You cannot teach culture, the children need to be living in the culture.”

Chinese parents felt they had the responsibility to help their children understand Chinese culture both for children’s self-development and for improving the mutual understanding between parents and children. Parents are their children’s primary source of knowledge about Chinese culture. The family is a key learning environment for children to develop feelings of their ethnic identity. For Chinese immigrant children, being Westernized is a natural process because of their schooling experiences and living experiences in Canada. However, they don’t have other opportunities to understand Chinese culture except from their families. Therefore, Chinese immigrant parents believed it was crucial to give their children the Chinese culture atmosphere at home.

Parents believed that they should not impose Chinese culture to children in a rigid way. They tried to immerge their children in Chinese culture in daily lives to help their children develop a better understanding about Chinese culture through the direct contacts with the culture at home. The mother from family Wu set certain family routines to make sure that her daughters were exposed to Chinese culture on a daily basis:

When I decided to stay in Canada and have my children growing up in this country, I began to ask myself the question: How should I deal with the issue of balancing Western culture and Chinese culture in my childrearing practices. It is my responsibility to help my children understand Chinese culture. However, I don’t think I can teach them the culture by just talking about it or forcing them to read books introducing Chinese culture. I believe people can absorb a culture much better by living in it and feeling it. In order to plant the seeds of Chinese culture in my daughters’ lives, I created a strong Chinese cultural atmosphere at home. For instance, we seldom watch Western TV shows at home (but we do listen to the morning news over the radio). We mostly watch Chinese TV shows including at least one hour news every day, some soap operas, and talk shows. My daughters are part of this family. It is unavoidable for them to listen to the Chinese TV shows even though they won’t always watch the TV with us. Of course I won’t expect them to become experts of Chinese culture. At least they

won't feel so unfamiliar to Chinese culture. They will slowly learn about how Chinese people interact with each other, and what the difference between Chinese culture and Western culture.

This mother also made efforts to make sure her daughters receive sufficient Chinese literature learning at home:

Another way to help my daughter know more about Chinese culture is to read Chinese classics and watch Chinese cartoons, which include Chinese cultural elements such as tai chi and rituals. They can learn Chinese culture through the stories, the sound track, the pictures, the emotion expressed, and the spiritual connotation embodied in the stories. I read Chinese classics for them every evening when they were young, explaining the stories and teaching them Chinese idioms. I need to fulfill my responsibility to provide them the access to Chinese culture without forcing them. They can feel and understand some Chinese culture such as how we value family and how we treat people. In this way, they will understand my and my husband's thinking and behaviour better.

Other Chinese immigrant parents also preferred to maintain Chinese culture and tradition through living in the culture; for example, they celebrated traditional festivals. Parents believed they should be role models for their children to value Chinese culture. Children could learn Chinese culture by seeing how their parents behave and how their parents value the culture. For example, the mother from family Feng said:

I did not teach my children the traditional Chinese culture deliberately. I tried to pass on the tradition in daily life and through my own behaviours. My family celebrate every Chinese festival including Mid-Autumn Festival and Spring Festival. I will prepare the special food like dumplings or moon cake, explaining to my children about the tradition, and the stories behind the festivals. During Spring Festival, we usually have a family get-together and children will get lucky money in a red envelope from parents and relatives. Children can also learn from us by seeing how we take care of our parents and how we respect our elders and love our youngsters.

Family is an important socialization environment for Chinese immigrant children. As Li (2003) claimed, a family is a basic form of cultural institution of a given society that embodies a particular way of life, children's interaction with their parents is a

primary source of enculturation. Chinese immigrant parents wanted their children to inherit the good traditions in Chinese culture and, also hoped their children's understanding of Chinese culture could solidify the strong emotional bonding between the parents and children.

“It gets harder and harder to communicate with my son.”

Living in Canada, the acculturation pace of Chinese immigrant parents and children was not synchronous. In any family, individual's acculturation pace varies, with children usually adjusting more rapidly than parents. Immigrant children tended to learn English and the Western cultural values much faster than their parents did. Since the acculturation pace differed, parent-child conflicts were indicated to be salient issues in some Chinese immigrant families.

Chinese immigrant parents might feel more secure and comfortable in Chinese world, while their children might hold to Canadian culture after their staying in Canada for a few years. Because immigrant students stayed in school for most of the day, no matter if they were initiatively or passively learning Western culture, their Westernized pace was certainly much faster than their parents. Some messages received by children in the school environment from teachers and peers were likely to conflict with the values held by their parents. The mother from family Chen said it became harder and harder to communicate with her son:

My son was ten years old when we just got here. He did not inherit much Chinese tradition. When we were living in China, our social circle was small without many external social contacts. I don't think Chinese culture had a profound influence on my son. Since we came here, I found it became harder and harder to communicate with my son because my thinking was more Chinese, while his thinking was more Western. For example, I suggested him to learn something from other students. He did not understand why I compared him with others.

Sometimes I feel it is hard to communicate with him because we have different opinions on things from totally different perspectives. When I tried to teach him something, most of the time, he replied saying ‘my teacher did not say that,’ or ‘my classmates never did that.’ It frustrates me a lot. I think maybe my thinking is too old-fashioned. I cannot catch up with my son’s thinking anymore.

She also mentioned her son behaved totally different at home and outside, which surprised her that she seldom saw the other side of her son:

I think my son is just a normal Chinese kid. He is quiet at home. When I talk to him, he just listens to me without much response. I don’t know what’s going on in his mind. However, one time when we had dinner with my English speaking Canadian friends, I found my son was well-spoken and sociable. I was so surprised that he behaved like a total Western person. His language and his attitude showed a different side of him. He speaks Mandarin with us at home. But he prefers to speak English when he is outside even with Chinese people. One reason is that he is only familiar with the way and the accent when my husband and I speak Mandarin to him. Maybe he cannot understand other Chinese people’s Mandarin so well.

Most parents said they sometimes felt their children knew more about Canada than they did. Because their children went to Canadian schools, developed relationships with peers, read and observe many things in their surroundings. Therefore, the longer Chinese immigrant families had been living in Canada; children would become less dependent on their parents. If parents could not develop better knowledge about Canadian society, they would find bigger gaps between them and their children.

“It is my responsibility to teach children Chinese language.”

One important cultural element is language. All Chinese immigrant parents in this study showed strong intention to help their children maintain Chinese language. Parents thought it was always good for their children to know two languages and two cultures because they could learn from both cultures and better prepare for their future careers. Parents also felt it was a responsibility to provide the channels for their children

to learn Chinese no matter whether their children liked it or not. The mother from family Wei, as a recent immigrant parent, insisted that it would be a shame if her children lost Chinese language. She requested her children to improve English without sacrificing Chinese language learning. Her main strategy was to assign her children the homework of studying Chinese literature textbook:

I hope my children can improve their English in short time. At the same time, I'm afraid that they may forget Chinese language. At the end of the day, we are Chinese. No matter where are we living, we are still Chinese. Chinese culture is our roots. In my opinion, it is a shame if Chinese people cannot speak Chinese. What I do to help my children keep Chinese language is to speak Chinese with my children at home and request them to teach themselves Chinese literature using the text books we brought from China. I try to keep them in the same pace with the students in China on the Chinese curriculum study. I hope my children can study Chinese and English at the same time and improve both languages. I believe their capability of language learning will get improved by bilingual practise. Learning Chinese can also help my children develop their logic thinking and writing. Of course, the most important purpose of continually learning Chinese is to keep the traditional Chinese culture.

The mother from family Xie said parents should be blamed if their children cannot speak Chinese. She believed that parents should put efforts into children's Chinese language training at home along with sending children to Chinese language school on weekends. She believed it was not so difficulty to help children pick up Chinese language if parents took this task seriously and put constant efforts into it.

“How many generations do I want my children to keep Chinese language?”

Some Chinese immigrant parents tended to take it easy on maintaining Chinese language. They gave their children more freedom regarding learning Chinese. They believed their children could learn better when they had stronger intentions to learn, and it was never too late for their children to pick up Chinese when they wanted to. One

reason why some parents were not determined to force their children to learn Chinese was that they knew it was hard to maintain the ethnic language after the second generation of immigrants. Thus, parents did not want to give children pressure to learn Chinese because they knew language maintaining was hard if their children did not develop the interest and motivation. Although these parents did not expect their children to be good at Chinese, they believed it was still important to help their children receive some foundation knowledge of Chinese learning. It would make it easier for their children to pick up Chinese later. For example, the mother from family Guo said:

I discussed with one of my friends about how to help my children learn Chinese language. She raised a question to make me think about this issue. She asked how many generations do I want my children and grandchildren to maintain Chinese language. I know I can force my daughter to continue learning Chinese, but I don't think I have any control over my grandchildren's language learning. It means even if I can force my children to maintain Chinese language, most likely my grandchildren won't be able to speak Chinese. So currently, I choose to take it easy. If my daughter wants to learn more Chinese in the future, I am confident that she can pick it up because she already has some basic knowledge about this language. Besides, she is in French class now, so she has good language learning skills.

The mother from family Wu shared the similar ideas about helping children receive the foundational knowledge and basic skills of Chinese language, then gave the decision to children themselves how well they would like to master this language:

My daughter's Chinese language is okay. They can listen to Chinese, but cannot read or write Chinese. I don't expect them to master the Chinese language in short time. My job is to help them get the basic knowledge about this language. I believe all languages are interlinked, as long as they are good at one language like English or French, I don't think there is a big problem for them to pick up another language like Chinese in the future if they like.

Because the second generation immigrant children had no experience of growing up in China, it was not easy for them to understand why they needed to study Chinese,

especially when they were young. Also it was hard for them to study Chinese well because they did not have opportunities to use this language often. The mother from family Wu believed the best way for children to learn Chinese was through an entertaining and cultural sensitive way rather than through reciting the words and sentences:

I think language learning is closely connected with culture absorption. I want to help my children learn Chinese in a fun and cultural sensitive way. I try my best to give my children a Chinese culture home atmosphere. I ensure there is one hour of Chinese news watching time at home. I bought Chinese cartoons for my daughters. I don't force my children to learn Chinese language, but I make sure they are immersed in Chinese culture at home. I believe they can pick up Chinese easily because they listen to Chinese TV shows, they watch Chinese cartoons, and I read Chinese classic stories for them. I prefer to improve their Chinese in this cultural and entertaining way in order to transfer the culture and language to them at the same time.

There were differences in parents' attitudes and requirements regarding their children's Chinese language learning. The mother from family Wei was strict about her children's Chinese language maintenance and requested them to keep the same pace as the students in China by studying Chinese literature text books at home. The mother from family Guo and the mother from family Wu lowered their expectations of their children's Chinese learning. They simply wanted their children to have a basic knowledge about this language. Besides, they tended to teach their children Chinese in a more relaxing and entertaining way to keep their children's interest in learning Chinese.

Children's Voice

Chinese immigrant children always had to deal with the two worlds, Western world in school and Chinese world at home. For Chinese immigrant children, when they reached teenage age, it was an important stage for developing their own thinking and

having a stronger desire to pursue individual autonomy and identity. They spent most of their time in school environment, where they learned from peers about behaviour patterns, social skills, and moral references. The education they received from teachers and the influence they got from peers were not always the same as the family education they received from parents. Both family education and school education influenced Chinese immigrant children's development of values and goals. For them, dealing with the differences was a long term negotiation process, and they lived and grew with this life experience.

“I am living in between two worlds.”

Chinese immigrant children were living in two cultures at the same time. There was no clear way to define what their cultural identities were because the truth was they were “living in between,” like the son from family Dai said:

I was born in Canada but I am Chinese. I would say I am very Canadian in many ways, but I'm quite sheltered in a traditional Chinese family. For example, my parents both speak Chinese and they still strictly follow certain Chinese traditions and rules. Let's say, I'm very Canadian in the ways of my thinking and dealing with things. At the same time, I still have many Chinese values that I think are good for my life. I think I would say I am Canadian. I grew up in Canada. But in some ways, I think I'm more Chinese than many other people, such as I spend more time with my family. I think I have a mixing in everything.

“Living in between” seemed like a double-edged sword for Chinese immigrant children. On one hand, they were questioned by others about their identities, which made them feel they were in a confusing position to identify themselves. On the other hand, they got to know more people from different backgrounds and they were more inclusive to different cultures, which could be an advantage for them.

The son from family Dai talked about one of his stories regarding cultural identification. There was one time his friend made a comment about him, saying that he had no identity, which made him think how exactly he should identify himself. After many years, with more life experience, he learned to embrace his background and to see it from a positive perspective. He believed he could make the best use of both cultures to get along with people from different cultures:

I think because I met different groups of Asian Canadian people. I can identify myself with every group in some way. I have friends from India, Bangladesh, China, and Thailand. I don't have problem to socialize with my Caucasian friends either. But I sense the crisis that I don't belong to any group in a deeper level, neither Asian immigrants group nor Caucasian Canadian group. Right now I am more aware of the benefits of meeting people from different backgrounds. Actually, I had gained knowledge from people who were different from me. I think I should socialize with any people who I happen to meet. It's kind of interesting that I don't think I totally belong to either Chinese culture or Canadian culture, but I understand both cultures in certain ways. I find it's hard for me to categorize myself. The more important thing is to cherish what I have and embrace my background.

The son from family Xie shared the similar feeling about his cultural identification. He respected his parents' values about family bonding and learned from his parents about the essence of Chinese culture. At the same time, he behaved like a normal Western kid when he was in school. He believed he was more Canadian than Chinese. However, he also agreed that both cultures have their strengths and values. He could be flexible to choose being more Canadian or more Chinese depending on the specific situations:

My family life is quite Chinese style. I eat Chinese food at home. My parents speak Chinese to me. I answer them usually with a mix Chinese and English. I respect them. I listen to them most of the time. My parents always told me I should keep strong bonding with my younger brother. My parents want me and my brother to help each other and take care of each other in the future. I feel the

whole family atmosphere is quite Chinese. But I live in total Western culture outside of my family. I have many friends. They are all local Canadian teenagers. I only hang out with Chinese friends when I was very young. I met with them through my parents' friend circle. I have to say I am more Canadian than Chinese because I grew up in this country. Of course, comparing with my local Canadian friends, I know more about China. I still think I am more Canadian. I don't go back to China often. I only have blurred memories about China. However, when I am at home, I try to follow the rules in a Chinese family. For example, I am not supposed to argue with or disobey my parents. That is bad. I understand both cultures have their good values. I believe everything has its reason. My mom asked me to learn Chinese. I know it is good for me. Maybe one day I can go back to China for work. So I guess no matter whether I follow Chinese culture or Western culture, actually it depends on the specific situations, I believe there is a reason for me to behave either more Canadian or more Chinese according to the situations.

Compared with Chinese immigrant parents, Chinese immigrant children were more Western, even Chinese immigrant teenager who came to Canada a short time ago. There were always two dimensions to culturally identify them. There might be confusing moments for them sometimes, but they could also make the best use of their backgrounds of living in two cultures.

“I don't want to go to Chinese language school.”

All Chinese immigrant parents had sent or planned to send their children to Chinese language school on weekends. It meant Chinese immigrant children had to experience two different teaching styles in Chinese language school and their own schools, which was a challenge for most of them. Especially for the second generation Chinese immigrant children who were born in Canada. Learning Chinese was more from the pressure of parents rather than from their own initiatives. The most frequent comment from the children was “I don't want to go to Chinese language school.”

For example, the son from family Dong explained why he did not want to go to learn Chinese on weekends. One reason was that teachers in his school motivated students on their studies in an encouraging way, while teachers in Chinese language school pushed them to study in a harsh or punishing way:

I have to go to Chinese language school every Saturday morning to learn Chinese language and painting there. I definitely don't want to go there. It is boring to learn Chinese there. The teacher requested us to read and write many times to remember how to write and read the words and sentences. The teacher gave us test after we learned some new content every time. I was nervous when I had to do the test because I did not want to get any punishment. The teacher usually asks the student who did not know how to finish the homework or had wrong answers in the test to stand in the hallway outside of the classroom. There was one student in my class who failed the test a few times, so he had to stand in the hallway frequently. I felt bad for him. I thought it was humiliating to stand in the hallway because everybody can see you. Every time, when I think about going there, I feel upset. But I have to go because my father forces me to. My father told me I don't need to worry about the teacher giving me hard time as long as I concentrate on studying the content in the class and behave well. Teachers in my own school never punish us. So I am less afraid of teachers in my own school. For example, I like my math teacher. She will give us chocolate balls if we get all the right answers for the test. I already got a few chocolates and I like to win more.

Chinese teachers favoured traditional, skill-based approaches over holistic principles of literacy learning. They were more concerned with basic literacy skills, like listening, reading, and writing. They spent most time monitoring and correcting students' learning. Chinese teachers believed that teaching students to write properly, checking for understanding of the content, and having students recite the articles were the most important ways they could help student's language learning. For example, the son from family Xie said:

I had gone to Chinese language school for seven years. There were too much memorization and reciting words and grammar. Teachers there were nice. They believed study was students' own thing. If students wanted to learn more, they would help students more, if students did not want to learn, then they just need to

finish the minimum requirements by doing the homework and passing the exam. From my own experience, teachers there were not interested in motivating students to learn Chinese in a more active and fun way. Teachers in my own school often encourage us to have discussions. They want us to really understand the content rather than just to memorize them. However, I do think going to Chinese language school helped me a lot to improve my Chinese. I can communicate with people in Mandarin when they speak slowly. But going to Chinese language school was the request from my parents. I had to go just like many other Chinese immigrant children.

Immigrant children also experienced different classroom culture in Chinese language school. The difference included how teachers treated students when they made mistakes and whether teachers were fair to every student. Most parents thought it was not a big problem for their children to handle the different teaching style and the classroom culture because their children only went to Chinese language school for a half day every week. In fact, it showed that children had strong feelings about the culture difference and they were quite sensitive about it. The mother from family Guo gave good examples about her daughter's experience in Chinese language school:

My daughter used to go to Chinese language school for three years. She was never a big fan of going there. Eventually she quit because the only teacher she liked there went back to China. Shortly after that, she decided not to go there anymore. She explained a few reasons. One of the reasons was that she did not like the way teachers treated students when students could not answer the question right or could not finish the homework. She said teachers there were too mean or harsh. She felt bad about the students who received this kind of treatment. She said it made her feel uncomfortable to see other students getting punished even though she was not the student who received the mean comments or got punishment. Another reason made her feel uncomfortable was she found not every student had the same opportunity when it came to some school activities like dance performance for Chinese festivals. For example, there were always a few girls who were the teacher's favourite or whose parents had good personal relationships with the teacher. These students would stand in the first row when doing the dance performance. She found there was a big difference of classroom culture between Chinese language school and her own school, which made her feel not so pleasant to live in two different classroom cultures at the same time.

As her mother, of course I want her to continue learning Chinese. However, it means more to me that she is happy.

According to Chinese immigrant parents' and children's comments, children who were born in Canada or came to Canada at an early age had trouble speaking fluent Chinese. Even when they spoke with their parents, they mixed Chinese with English. Most of them could speak simple Chinese and understand their parents' Chinese, but we were unable to understand others' Chinese; they were used to a specific way their parents spoke the language in a specific context. Most of them couldn't read or write Chinese. Children who came to Canada at an older age can speak Chinese better yet had troubles improving their English. It was hard for both groups of children to be bilingually fluent.

Summary and Discussion

Chinese immigrant parents' and children's culture identification reflected in their relationships with both Chinese culture and Western culture. This identification was not fixed. It changed with the time and the situations. Parents lived through the stages of transnational experiences from adjusting, acculturating, and reflecting. Their cultural identification reconstructions in Canada were complex and multidimensional. As Hall (1990) said, people's identities are never complete, always in process, and always constitute within, not outside, representation (p. 222).

Chinese immigrant parents culturally identified with Chinese culture more. They believed it was difficult for them to totally integrate in Canadian society. They regarded their immigration life as a learning experience. They were willingly to learn more about Canadian society with an open mind. After many years' living in Canada, some of their values changed towards Western culture. Generally speaking, they tended to keep a practical attitude regarding the relationship between Chinese culture and Western culture.

How they integrated into Canadian society was in their families' best interests. Recent Chinese immigrant parents hoped their children to be more involved in local children's life and school activities to pick up English and find a sense of belonging. They intended to help their children adjust to the new environment quickly to make sure their schoolwork would not get negatively influenced from the life transition of immigration. Early Chinese immigrant parents tended to instil core values of Chinese culture to their children, especially regarding children's studies. Parent did not hold strong preference to consciously raise their children to be more Chinese or more Canadian, but they emphasized that their children should be culturally grounded as strong people with high self-esteem in order to face the potential discrimination or racism.

Chinese immigrant children were living in two cultures. There was no clear way to define what their cultural identities were, in truth, they were "living in between". For them, searching for the comfortable zone to negotiate in two cultures was always with them when they were growing up. Su and Costigan (2009) said successful identity development for immigrant children entails the creation of a bicultural sense of self, in which the individual feels attachment and competence in both cultures. Chinese immigrant children gradually learned how to deal with the culture difference by judging according to the specific circumstances; learning how to compromise with parents and peers. Compared to their parents, who might feel more secure in the Chinese world, Chinese immigrant children seemed to cling more closely to Canadian culture.

Chinese immigrant parents felt that they had the responsibility to help their children understand Chinese culture both for their children's self-developments and for improving the mutual understanding between parents and children. Chinese parents

worried their children's lack of understanding about Chinese culture would make it difficult to communicate with their children. Parents accepted that their children were more Western than themselves, but preferred their children to understand why parents do things and say things in certain ways given parents' Chinese culture background. To avoid the potential conflicts between parents and children because of the lack of understanding caused by cultural differences, Chinese immigrant parents emphasized the importance of maintaining the core values in Chinese culture at home. Most parents applied reasoning, monitoring, and autonomy-promoting parenting practices to help their children understand Chinese culture rather than imposing the rules and values on them. Parents tried to immerse their children in Chinese culture in the family daily lives to help their children develop a better understanding of Chinese culture through the direct contacts with the culture at home. Previous research found these parenting practices would help children develop stronger feelings of ethnic belonging and more ethnic identity exploration (Davey, Fish, Askew, & Robila, 2003). At the same time, parents themselves tried to learn more about Western culture to understand about their children's thinking better.

Although Chinese immigrant parents considered maintaining ethnic heritage language to be desirable, it was indicated that there were differences in parents' attitudes and requirements regarding their children's Chinese learning. The new immigrant parents faced the dilemma of improving their children's English and maintaining their children's Chinese at the same time. They worried whether their children could fit in the Canadian educational system. They also worried their children would lose their skills in Chinese language. The early immigrant parents had lowered their requirements of their

children's Chinese language learning, but they still believed the necessity of helping their children receive the foundation knowledge of Chinese language. Early immigrant parents also tended to teach Chinese language in a more relaxing and entertaining way at home because they understood their children's low motivation to learn Chinese.

Chinese immigrant students expressed their hesitation and dislike to go to Chinese language school mainly due to the different teaching style and classroom culture. It was a challenge for them to experience two different teachings and cultures at the same time. Chinese immigrant children's initiatives and efforts regarding maintaining their ethnic language were influenced by their parents' attitudes, parent-child cohesion, peer influences on language learning behaviours, and age of immigration. Most of the children interviewed were not bilingually fluent.

Immigrant Children's Schooling Experiences and Feedback

Going to school in Canada was an exciting and challenging experience for Chinese immigrant students. They tried to improve their English, make new friends, and get used to the new school environment. Their intercultural schooling experience provided them the opportunity to reflect on their cognitions about education and expectations for themselves. Chinese immigrant parents' feedbacks regarding their children's schooling experiences in Canada fell into three aspects including (a) the relationship between students and teachers, (b) the curriculum and teaching style, and (c) the information exchange between school and parents. Parents insisted on continuing to play an important role in children's schooling, especially in recent Chinese immigrant families.

Parents' Voice

To provide a different educational environment for children was most Chinese immigrant parents' biggest motivation to immigrate to Canada. They appreciated the educational ideology and system in Canadian schools in many aspects. At the same time, they had concerns about other aspects and believed there was space for improvements to more efficiently help immigrant students. Parents praised Chinese school education for providing systematic academic training but criticized it for putting too much pressure on children from an early age because of the highly competitive education environment. Parents appreciated Canadian school education for nurturing creativity and originality but were unsatisfied with its weak intellectual challenge and lack of discipline in school. Most parents made the efforts to adjust their home training to be more consistent with the school culture in Canada. Interviews showed that the longer immigrant parents stayed in Canada the more confident they would become about their children's schooling.

“Teachers are nice to students, but they should challenge students more.”

Parents were impressed about how teachers in Canadian schools treated every student with fairness and friendliness. Teachers won't judge students solely by their studies. It was different from the situation in Chinese schools, where students' grades are the most important standard to evaluate whether or not they are good students. Some parents spoke that teachers in Canadian schools usually gave students who had trouble on studies more attention to help them improve their studies. The mother from family Feng said:

We all know that in China teachers like the students who are good at studying more than the students who cannot get good grades. But here teachers treat everybody the same. There is no such thing that just because you are good at

studying, other students will see you differently, or you will become teacher's favourite. It is wrong to classify students to different groups simply according to their grades. If teachers behave to be supportive to this kind of classification in the classroom, it is unhealthy for children's development. Students' self-esteem may get negative influence by this kind of judgement. I found that the teacher in my son's class would like to give students who have trouble on study more help rather than to blame or put more pressure on them to catch up. This is helpful to encourage the students to make progress on their studies.

Some parents talked about how teachers cared about students' well-being physically and emotionally rather than just focused on pushing students to get higher grades. For example, the mother from Wei said:

I found teachers here are more caring about children, especially about children's daily lives instead of only focusing on their studies. For example, teachers asked students to wear more clothes if the weather would become colder the next day. Teachers gave students the information about how to protect themselves and who they should turn to if parents have some violent behaviour at home towards them.

Teachers in China have authority with certain power. Because of this power, it was possible for teachers to treat students differently. The mother from family Liang shared stories about how disappointed she was when a teacher treated her son unfairly, which eventually made her decide to move to Canada:

When I was debating on the decision of moving to Canada, there was one incident which finally made me decide that I should provide a different educating environment for my son. My son was a talented sport student in swimming. He always got the championship in any swimming competition in his school. But his physical education teacher sent another student representing the school to attend the swimming tournament held by the province. The reason why the teacher did not send my son who was obvious more qualified to attend the competition was that I did not bribe the teacher. I felt so disappointed to see that my son's feelings got hurt by this unfair treatment.

This mother was glad to see that her son was so welcomed in the new Canadian school. Her son was a student with sports talent in China. He spent a lot of time training, but his studying was not so good. He did not feel the care and support from his teachers

in China. After moving to Canada, this mother expressed how touched she felt when the coach sent her son to attend a hockey game the first week after her son's enrolment in a middle school in Saskatoon:

When my son just got into the new school here in Saskatoon, the physical teacher noticed that he was a tall and strong boy. Then the teacher let my son play hockey game against other schools. At that time, my son had never played hockey before and did not know the rules yet. The coach asked another boy to explain the rules to my son when they were playing. The coach later invited my son to join the soccer and the wrestling team too. I think the teacher's encouragement and support are important to improve children's self-confidence and allow them to pursue his or her dreams. I was so touched by the kindness of the teacher and impressed by the spirit of teamwork among the students.

Parents also gave some examples showing that the teacher taught students through practices and projects not just through the textbooks. The mother from family Xie said:

School education in Canada pays more attention to develop students' learning ability by providing children more opportunities to learn through practice, and train students to solve the problems by themselves. For example, students can do their own projects and improve their creativity and learning ability during the process. The education in Chinese schools stresses the importance of memorizing everything students learn from the class rather than giving the children more opportunities to really understand the content of the class through practice.

Despite the good interactions between teachers and students in Canadian schools, parents preferred teachers to have higher expectations for students and challenge them more. Compared to local Canadian parents, it is more difficult for Chinese parents to be satisfied with moderate performance on study. Most Chinese parents regarded doing well in school as the single most important task for their children. But teachers in Canadian schools usually give praise to students for an average performance. Parents worried that their children would just try to get by on their study if there was no pressure from the teacher. For example, the mother from family Liang said:

My son is lazy. He does not want to put efforts into his studies. Teachers here prefer to give students freedom as long as students finish the homework. In this case, students would not get pressure from the teacher to study harder, which is different from the situation in China. I found that the school and the teacher play an important role in motivating students' studying. For example, when my son was in the Catholic school in Vancouver, he had to study because the teacher there was strict and had higher expectations. After my son transferred to the current public school in Saskatoon, he became so lazy on study because he did not get any pressure from the teacher. Now he just wants to get by on his schoolwork. It worries me that if he stays this way, how can he apply for a good university?

The mother from family Feng mentioned the classroom principle was not as strict as that in China. She worried that students could not focus on studying if the teacher did not request the students to concentrate on listening to the material in the classroom:

I used to go to my son's school to volunteer for some school activities. I noticed that there were so many students doing other things rather than listening to teachers in the class. For example, there were students playing with their cellphones; some students were drawing; some students were sleeping. Most of the time, teachers did not raise their voices as long as these students did not make any noise. From my point of view, the teacher should request students to make the best use of the class time to study rather than to do other things. This is totally different from the situation in China. Teachers in Chinese school will punish students or call their parents if the students did not concentrate on studying in the class. I think the teacher should be stricter in terms of the classroom principles. Don't just let students do whatever they like to do.

She also mentioned that teachers should challenge students more, especially to the top students. For the students who can get above average grades, normally teachers would not push them to achieve more. She believed this would make the students stay at the same level rather than achieve more in the schoolwork to reach their full potential.

She said:

My feeling is that teachers usually gave more attention to students who had trouble in doing the homework or catching up with other students on the content taught in class. Students who had no difficulties on study would not get enough attention from teachers. My suggestion is that school should provide more

incentives to students who are good at studies and challenge them to achieve more rather than stay in the same level. Having ambition on study is always good than being easily satisfied with moderate performance on study.

Chinese immigrant parents appreciated the friendly and caring interaction between teachers and their children. Parents also appreciated how teachers emphasized students' comprehensive development like self-learning ability, personality development, social skill, critical thinking, and creativity. Parents were not totally satisfied with the teaching style and classroom principle. In Chinese culture, it is believed that certain amount of pressure is necessary for children's success; while schools in Canada emphasize providing a free and natural environment for children to explore themselves. In most Chinese parents' mind, the strict teacher is the responsible teacher. Strict academic training could help children develop good study habits. Parents found that teachers in Canadian schools were too easygoing especially when students were doing fine. However, Chinese parents expected the teacher to always challenge and push their children to reach higher goals.

“Study becomes more fun and less stressful for my children, but the schoolwork is too easy.”

Chinese immigrant parents said they did not want their children to go through the highly competitive schooling experiences they had been through in China. The general atmosphere in Chinese school was highly institutionalized and grade-centered: the curriculum was tough and challenging, the homework load was large enough to keep every school-aged child busy, frequent exams every week and every month, and intense competition for getting into better middle school and university. When Chinese immigrant families moved to Canada, parents found the education in Canadian school

was the opposite, in their words “too simple” or “too easy,” and the homework was not enough either. For example, the father from family Dong said:

The teaching content here is too simple comparing with the curriculum in China. When we were in China, we felt the pressure from school for children was too much. Teachers were strict with students’ study, and held high educational expectations for students. However, after moving to Saskatoon, my son feels so happy since there is no pressure from school at all, and teachers are very nice to students. Most of the time, he does not have any homework. A lunch box and a notebook are all the stuff he has in his schoolbag. He can understand the curriculum easily even though he has some language barriers, because most of the content he has already learned when he was in China. For example, he is currently in Grade 2, the math for Grade 2 here is the math for kindergarten children in China. I want to teach him some extra content after he gets back from school. Sometimes he feels unhappy to do so because all the other children can play. So I can only teach him a little bit more content after school. For example, I want to teach him some two-digit math at home while the school is still teaching one-digit math. I talked with some other Chinese parents about this, some of them suggested I should trust and follow the education system here since we already moved here. Some other parents suggested it was necessary to teach children some extra content to better prepare them for their future study. Frankly, I don’t know what to do. But I do feel the anxiety when I talked with my friends in China, knowing that their children were studying so hard every day.

Similarly, the mother from family Wei mentioned about her dissatisfaction about the workload in school. She believed the homework was not enough to develop students’ good study habits or learn more knowledge. She gave an example regarding English learning, which she thought the curriculum and homework for efficiently improving immigrant students’ English was not enough:

My son took English class in China. Teacher taught the vocabulary, grammar, sentences, reading, and writing. There were weekly quizzes, mid-term tests, and term exams. In the school here, there is no specific teaching plan and requirement for a certain period of time. Maybe they have, but I don’t have the information. I don’t know how the teacher teaches my children English here. My children’s English homework is to read English articles online then answer the questions based on their understanding of the articles. In my opinion, it is very easy task. I

don't think it is enough to improve immigrant students' English in short period of time.

Different from new immigrant parents' unsettling feelings about their children's schoolwork, the early immigrant parents had more trust in the school teaching. They gave more credits on Canadian school's efforts to educate the students learning how to socialize with people, how to fix problems by themselves, and how to be more independent. They believed the knowledge their children learned from school was enough as long as they made the best use of the class time and finished the homework. They claimed going to school was not just about study; children's socialization and comprehensive development were as important as getting good grades. Some parents commented that they can achieve high in education but were not necessary as capable as their children who were growing up in Canadian school system. For example, the mother from family Xie said:

I can do better on study than my son, while my son is more capable than me in many other aspects. I understand the curriculum in Canada is not as hard as that in Chinese schools. My son is in Grade 9. Grade 9 is the last year of junior high school in China. I found some of the content in his curriculum should be taught in senior elemental school in China. But I don't worry about this too much. I can see that my son has developed more abilities under Canadian education system. For example, he knows how to socialize with peers. There is no issue for him to make friends with children from different backgrounds. Besides, he has good time management ability. Actually he doesn't spend a lot of time on studying. From what I can see, he spent most of his time on outdoor activities. However, he can still manage to finish all of his schoolwork and keep his grades above average. He knows how to divide his time on sports, study, and other leisure activities to make sure that he could finish his study on time and have time to play with friends.

The above examples indicate that Chinese immigrant parents' attitude towards school teaching in Canadian schools varied due to parents' trust level of Canadian

schools. Their trust level may change when they stayed longer and had more knowledge about the education system in Canada.

“I am groping in the dark.”

The communication between Chinese immigrant parents and teachers in Canada was different from that in China. Most parents had limited information about their children’s schooling experience like study progress in Canadian schools; what they did know, they learned primarily from their children. The interviews showed that the effective communication between Chinese immigrant parents and the school was difficult to achieve because of immigrant parents’ language barriers and different beliefs held by parents and teachers regarding school education giving totally different education settings in China and Canada. To summarize parents’ comments, there were three main reasons causing the difficulties of communication between parents and the school.

First, the relationship between parents and teachers is different in China and in Canada. Teachers in China want parents to help children at home on their studies and take this as a responsibility. The relationship between parents and teachers is cooperative. Teachers in Canada tend not to push parents to do the supervision work at home on their children’s studies as long as students are doing well in school. For example, the mother from family Chen said:

When my son went to school in China, every time I saw his teachers, they would tell me what I should work on to help my son get better grades. What subject he was not good at; and how his behaviours were in school. So I had clear ideas about how everything was going in school with my son. If I did not spend enough time on my son’s study, I felt guilty because I didn’t do what teachers asked me to do. I also felt nervous to attend the meeting with his teacher, worrying about whether my son’s performance in school was good enough. I checked my son’s homework every day to make sure there was no wrong answer. I sat beside him when he reviewed his course material and I would provide assistance when he had

troubles understanding the content. I requested him to get better grades on every mid-term and final exam. Otherwise, his teacher would think that I did not help my son enough on his study.

Teachers in China want students who get low grades to catch up and the top students to perform even better. One reason teachers in China care about students' grades so much is because it is the most important element to evaluate teachers' work and will strongly influence whether teachers could get promotion or not. The head teacher of one class has to make sure the students in his or her class get higher average grades on different subjects, and higher average grades when adding up all the subjects, than students in other classes could get. The teacher also wants the top students in his or her class get the first place among all the students in the same grade. This is a big honour for the head teacher who is in charge of that class. The students who get lower grades need to catch up in order not to drag down the average grades of the class. Teachers need help from parents to improve students' studies because they believe they can only take care of students' studies in school, which is not enough. Parents should do a good job to supervise students' study at home.

Second, parents felt it was difficult to communicate with teachers about their children's study in a detailed level due to the language barriers and unfamiliarity of Canadian education system. Chinese immigrant parents explained the regular parent-teacher meeting was unhelpful. The meeting normally lasted about half hour for each parent, which was hardly enough time to have meaningful communication about the student's study progress, considering the fact that most parents needed their children to interpret between English and Chinese at the meeting. Besides, parents felt the information they received from teachers through the meeting was general and limited,

which did not help them get more detailed information about how their children were doing in school. A few parents mentioned that they never communicated with teachers regarding their children's study except for the regular report cards from school. Normally teachers only contacted parents when their children had behavioural issues, such as lateness or conflicts with classmates.

Third, the deeper reason causing Chinese parents' dissatisfaction and passive participation in the communication with teachers was the lack of joint-discussion regarding parents' concerns. Differences in education philosophy and learning practice resulted in parents and teachers having different concerns in their discussion. Chinese parents wanted genuine and detailed information of children's academic progress in school. Parents felt the reports given by teachers were unrealistically positive or superficial, thus failed to identify children's weaknesses. Different from local Canadian parents, who cared about both school's public and social events (e.g., sports events, school concerts, and fundraising) and their children's academic progress, Chinese immigrant parents requested more information about their children's academic progress to determine what extra academic supports needed to be provided for their children at home. They felt it was not enough to have a half hour parent-teacher meeting every month or every term. They also felt the newsletters did not provide useful information about their children's schooling experience except keeping them updated about school events. Chinese immigrant parents were more concerned about how they could help their children perform better on studies. They were less interested in listening to teachers' praise about their children. But the teacher usually commented that the children were

already good enough. The mother from family Shen explained her confusing feelings about this:

When I was with my Chinese friends, the most frequent topic we had was our children's studies. I felt so jealous when I heard about their children getting above 90 on every subject. I told my son to work harder. His grades were about 75 or 80. However, whenever I met with his teachers, they always said all kinds of good things about my son. Their comments were over-positive. In my mind, I was thinking was that my son they were talking about? Why I did not find my son was so good? I believe that my son has so many things to work on to catch up with other Asian children in school. I think the over-positive comments from teachers were not necessary to be good for motivating my son to work harder.

Chinese immigrant parents sought detailed information of children's development and progress in different aspects and hoped to get assistance from teachers in becoming effective co-educator at home. When they moved to Canada, they found it difficult to stay involved at the same level in their children's study because they did not get enough information from school. They showed frustration about the lack of a well-defined instructional framework for teaching. In Chinese schools, there were detailed plans about each week's and each month's teaching progress and study plan, which gave parents clear ideas about how they could assist and guide children's study at home. For example, the mother from family Wei expressed her dissatisfaction about how teachers in Canada organized the curriculum. It seemed to her that teachers taught curriculum randomly without specific teaching plans, which made it difficult for her to give her children extra homework:

It makes me feel frustrated and unsettled that I have no idea what my children are learning at school. When we were in China, the teacher made clear teaching plans for each week or each term according to the school syllabus. I had clear ideas about what my children were studying at school. For example, the math course, I knew what equations they were learning this week, and how deep they were supposed to understand the content in a certain timeline. Homework was an

important way that parents could be more involved in children's studies. Currently, I just feel I have no clue about what my children are learning at school because my children barely bring their homework back. I asked them why they did not have any homework; they told me that they already finished all the homework at school, so I assumed that they had very little homework.

Because of the limited information shared between parents and teachers, parents tended to learn from mistakes or asked for suggestions from other Chinese immigrant parents. For example, the mother from family Wei said:

The main channel for me to learn some useful information is through TV news and online news. Usually I will pay attention to the news related to my children's education and the job market in Canada. Sometimes, I will communicate with my friends, asking for some suggestions, and listening to their experiences of living in Canada and educating their children here.

Different from the parents who felt unsatisfied about their communication with the school, the Chinese immigrant families who had been living in Canada for longer time seemed to be more confident about the Canadian educational system and less concerned about strictly tracking their children's study progress in school. They trusted that the teacher would be responsible for it. For example, the father from family Xie said:

I don't think we need to worry too much about children's schooling here. School and the teacher will take care of it. We are living in this country now. We need to trust the educational system here. My elder son was four years old when we moved to Canada, so he has been receiving education here from pre-school. I don't really have suggestions about how to improve the educational system to help immigrant students better. There are researchers who are working on the educational issues to reform and improve the educational system. They will promote new policies to different provinces then to the whole country if the policy has been proved to be better for students' development. As a parent, I don't need to worry too much about this. Even we want to give some suggestions to improve the educational system for immigrant students. I don't think it is easy for the educational administration system to apply the policy because immigrant students are not the mainstream body of students in Canadian schools.

Most of the time, Chinese immigrant students played the bridge role to connect their parents with the school. Parents would ask their children many questions about what was going on in school in order to keep themselves updated about children's schooling. Another information channel was through sharing the information in Chinese immigrant community. Parents were quite supportive about the school activities. But this was not always the case. Some parents did not allow their children to join the school sports team because they thought it would take too much time away from their study time. Chinese parents were generally happy about their children's schooling in Canada regardless of the existing dissatisfaction explained above.

Children's Voice

Chinese immigrant students expressed their appreciation of receiving education in Canadian schools. Different from the school atmosphere (school climate and school culture) in China, the Canadian school brought them a different experience. In Chinese schools, teachers dominate the classroom and strictly follow the instruction frame. Teachers focus on students' academic training and performance. The teaching style is quite schematically. Most of the time, students have to learn by memorization and exams. Teachers also pay attention to micro aspects of students' learning, emphasizing accuracy and high grades in exams. In Canadian schools, flexibility, creativity, and autonomy were noted by most Chinese immigrant students as the characteristics of the teaching and learning style. Teachers in Canadian schools encouraged students to get more hands-on experiences and solve problems independently. The out-door courses and selective courses not only helped students learn some practical technologies but also gave them the opportunity to explore their potential interests. Chinese immigrant students also felt they

had more freedom to express themselves and be more active in their studies. Teachers in Canadian schools more focused on encouraging students to think and cultivating students' interest and creativity. There were hurdles for new Chinese immigrant students to get involved in peer groups' interactions. Going to school with students from different ethnic backgrounds, Chinese immigrant students found they were often stereotyped.

“I can talk with my teacher about anything.”

As Gu and Schweisfurth (2006) said, the pattern of teacher–learner interaction is underpinned by a whole range of interrelated values and perceptions shaped in the cultural context of the teaching and learning environment. In China, the relationship between teacher and student is serious and distant. For teachers in China, students' grades are everything. For students who have issues with their studies, it would strongly influence students' self-esteem when they face their teachers because teachers tend to criticize them in an effort to pressurize them to improve. Chinese immigrant students found Canadian teachers tended to encourage and help them if they had any problem with their studies.

Chinese immigrant students needed to adjust to a different way of learning, and a different way of communicating with teachers. All Chinese immigrant students in the interviews talked about teachers' friendliness in Canadian schools. The relationship between teachers and students was not as intense as the relationship they had in Chinese schools. For example, the son from family Wei said:

When I was in China, the classroom discipline was strict. Every student had to listen to the teacher. The classroom was super quiet when the teacher was talking. Teachers here are nice and gentle to students. When there is student making noise or doing other things, the teacher will ask the student to stop doing other things instead of yelling at the student. When I was in China, the teacher would criticize

the student who did not finish their homework in front of the whole class. Sometimes the teacher would throw a chalk to the student who was falling sleep in the class. In my current school, the teacher would write down students' names on the blackboard to remind them to finish their homework rather than criticize them directly. For some students, if they finish homework well, the teacher will give them more homework to do in order to help them achieve more in their studies.

Other Chinese immigrant students also mentioned that teachers would say hi to them, make jokes sometimes, and ask about their families. They felt teachers treated them more like friends. They did not feel nervous or terrified when they interacted with teachers any more.

Chinese immigrant Students liked this friendly and close relationship with their teachers. But there was another voice complaining about some teachers' capabilities or teaching qualifications. For example, the daughter from family Li spoke about her most shocking experience in Canadian school:

To me, the curriculum in elementary school was too simple, especially the math. I guess most of the math in senior elementary school was taught in pre-school in China. What even more shocked me was that the math teacher in my class was very bad at math. It was unbelievable: how can he become a math teacher? One time, he came to ask me how to calculate $\frac{1}{2}$ plus $\frac{3}{4}$. This story has been my most shocking experience in Canada so far. I cannot believe my own math teacher asked help from me who was supposed to learn knowledge from him.

Although there were some complaints about the easy curriculum and loose classroom rules, Chinese immigrant students felt relieved that the pressure from teachers was much less than they had experienced in China. Of course there are always two sides of any story. Some students felt more motivated to study without the close supervision and big pressure from teachers. Other students became more laid-back and took it easy on their studies, which frustrated their parents especially when parents wanted to train them to develop good study habits at home.

“Study is my own thing.”

In Chinese schools, all the curriculum and teaching progress for each grade is precisely planned. The ministry of education of the central government owns the right to make any changes. Teachers and parents need to cooperate to help students achieve the best results in this educational system. Chinese students have to face the intense schoolwork and fierce competition especially after entering senior elementary school. There is not enough time or space for students to really think about their own motivations and goals in education. They are always pushed by parents and teachers to move forward in their educational journey. Their whole schooling experience is quite densely packed by many different kinds of courses and exams.

After Chinese immigrant students came to Canada, they had few problems in their schoolwork. They felt less pressure from the school and had more time to explore their interests. Without the tight schedule in school and high pressure from teachers, Chinese immigrant students had more time and space to think about their future. Many students mentioned they realized that study was their own thing rather than something imposed to them by teachers or parents. For example, the daughter from family Li said:

I went to Grade 5 when I just got here. I found students in elementary school here were just playing every day. They literally did not study at all. Initially I felt a little bit strange. Then I got used to it. I had more time to think about my future and try new things. Without the pressure from school, I had a stronger feeling that study is my own thing. I don't need people to push me. I should study for myself.

The son from family Wei felt the same way:

When I was in China, I did not need to think about my future because my future was already planned out by my parents. My job was to follow the plan and do whatever my parents asked me to do. Besides, my everyday schedule was so packed from seven o'clock in the morning to ten o'clock in the evening. In school, there were classes after classes, exams after exams. When I got home, I

needed to finish tons of homework. I felt happy if I could go to bed early after the homework. Who would think about future plans or daydream about something when living with such a busy schedule? Now I have more time for myself. Although my parents arrange most of my spare time, comparing to the days when I was in China, I still have more time to think about things and make plans about my future.

The daughter from family Hu talked about how the educational environment strongly influenced her attitude towards study after she moved to Canada:

When I was in China, I faced the pressure from teachers and parents every day. Teachers emphasized that grades were everything. If a student can't get high grades, teacher will think the student is hopeless and there is no good future for him or her. In this school culture, students themselves also behave quite competitive, always comparing grades with each other. Although I faced such pressure, I had no motivation to study. I would just complete what I was asked to. I failed half of my courses. My mom paid for tutor to teach me at home. I felt so annoyed. I did not know how to improve my study. I just did not have any interest on studying. And I was not happy. After coming to Canada, I went to high school in Victoria, BC. The courses were interesting. We learned through different ways like team projects and experiments. I found studying was not as tough as before. Actually I found it was quite fun. Grades were not the only standard to evaluate a student. Teachers encouraged us to develop our interests and explore our potentials. My grades got better and better. It surprised me that I can also get good grades like 85 or 90. Before I never knew that I could pass all the courses and even get good grades. By the end of my high school studies, I received the 'honoured student' title from the principal because I had done lots of volunteer works and attended many different arts and sports at school.

She was studying in a top university majoring in environmental science at the time we did the interview. She made a comment that she was not sure whether she would have the opportunity to go to university if she did not come to Canada.

Some Chinese students can achieve high academically but they don't understand why they are studying hard and where their passions lie. To change from "I have to study" to "I want to study" could improve Chinese immigrant students' expectations and

persistence in study. Also, it could bring more fulfilling feelings when they were doing well in school.

“I am Asian, so I am book smart?”

Being stereotyped was one common experience for Chinese immigrant students in school. Most of them said they had not experienced direct discrimination. Instead, they more often felt stereotyped as “Asian” or “Chinese”, which meant they were supposed to be good at math, lack of creativity, emphasize grades, less active, and so on. For example, the son in family Dai, who was born in Canada, said his classmate used to comment about him being “book smart, but not necessary being smart in other respects.” This was not a pleasant comment for him to receive. Later in his life, he learned how to fix cars, how to play different kinds of sports, how to do first aid, and many other outdoor activities. He wanted to prove that Asian student could do many different things besides study. He also mentioned that his classmates called him “teacher’s pet” quite often. He said he did nothing different from other students. He just tried to do the things the teacher asked students to do, to get above average grades in exams, and to be polite and respectful to teachers.

The daughter from family Li shared the similar experience:

My classmates think I don’t have any problems on studies simply because I am Asian. Sometimes when we talk about how we felt about the exam. I complained about the exam being difficult or I did not get the right answers for some questions. They accused me of bragging about how bad I did in the exam. They always assumed me could get good grades on every exam. I felt not happy to be imposed certain image by them, but I did not explain or argue with them. It is not necessary. I guess it will cause more trouble if I explain to them or show my anger about their comments. They also think Asian students are physically weak. One of my friends asked why I am so tiny, and suggested I should go to the gym more often to become bigger or fit.

The daughter from Family Hu gave another example showing the stereotype image Western students held for Asian students:

Every time, if there was any Asian student complained about the exam was too hard, Western students would call this 'Asian fear', which means Asian students care about grades too much, and always want to get high grades, so Asian students fear making any mistakes in the exam.

It was shown in the interviews with Chinese immigrant students that they were growing up with the stereotyped comments around them. Their response to this stereotyping changed from anger to no feeling to understanding. Some Chinese immigrant students claimed it was not easy to change people's thinking about Asian students because actually most of the Chinese students had been proving the stereotype image was right. One Chinese immigrant student mentioned that this stereotype image would not be changed unless there were many role models emerging in different fields out of the traditional track of Asian students' development. Actually, the model minority stereotype had affected some Chinese immigrant students' sense of self. Some Chinese immigrant students unconsciously gave themselves pressure to be what other students expected them to be as Asian students: being smart in schoolwork, a high achiever, good work ethics, quiet, less socially capable, etc. These typical characteristics of Asian students became part of some Chinese immigrant students' identity because they needed a feeling of group belonging. Some other Chinese immigrant students tried to prove that not all Asian students were the same. They could be just themselves rather than fitting into certain groups or images.

“What are my advantages and disadvantages?”

Going to Canadian schools, competing with local Canadian students, expecting to build a career and a life in Canada, it was inevitable for Chinese immigrant students to think about “What are my advantages and disadvantages to achieve success in Canada with my Chinese immigrant background?” Compared to second generation Chinese immigrant students who were born in Canada or the students moved to Canada at preschool age, the students came to Canada at junior high school or high school age who had dealt with more adjustment issues in Canada gave more thinking regarding their advantages and disadvantages to get ahead in education and career development.

Most Chinese immigrant students believed they had no advantage with respect to achievement in education and future career success. As commented by them, most Western students thought they were good at studying, always received good grades, which were seemed to be their advantages. However, they explained that they were not naturally good at studying or capable of achieving high academically. It was because they worked hard for it. Everybody can improve their study by putting more efforts into it. It was not Chinese immigrant students’ advantages. In addition to this, school culture in Canada is not grades-oriented. The evaluations about students are comprehensive. Chinese immigrant student felt less sense of achievement even though they could keep their high grades, because teachers and classmates emphasized less on grades and more on students’ comprehensive development and capability. Realizing the importance of social skills and job experience for future success, most Chinese immigrant students adapted their attitude and tried to learn more outside of classroom. For example, the daughter from family Li started to do volunteer jobs when she was in high school:

Because I always want to apply for medical school, I started to volunteer in hospital from high school and continued doing so when I entered university. I also did volunteer work for Food Bank. At my university, I am a volunteer for first year student, helping them to adjust to university studies and life.

As for the disadvantages, Chinese immigrant students gave many examples to explain why they need to work harder to achieve the same thing that Western students could easily achieve. According to their experiences, language and uneven opportunities were two salient factors that added hardness to their study and internship search. For example, the daughter from family Hu said:

I came to Canada when I was in Grade 10. No matter how hard I tried, my English can't be as good as local students. Many people say that after many years' studying in Canada, I won't have any language problem. Believe me, language problem will always be there, at least for me. It became my biggest obstacle to get an internship job. Luckily for me that my education background is applied science, otherwise, I think I will face more challenge if my major is social science.

The daughter from family Li explained that language barrier was not just shown in speaking and listening, more importantly, it was embodied in people's mindset and thinking when they were from different language and cultural background:

I guess different Chinese immigrant student face different specific problems in their studies. My personal experiences have shown that language is the biggest disadvantage for my studies. By language difficulties, I don't mean I can't understand English. There is no issue for me to understand and speak English. What has been challenging me is that the way I think and express myself are different from the way of local Canadian students. Sometimes, I found Caucasian students are talking with a different mindset. I don't know how they can jump from point A to point B with their thinking. Similarly, when I discuss about something with them, I may think my comments make perfect sense, and my logic is flawless. But they think my arguments are 'interesting' or 'confusing'. This kind of different thinking patterns caused by language and cultural background led me to a disadvantage position to prepare for my medical school entrance exam interviews. I am worried that I can't come up with good answers to the interview questions.

Some Chinese immigrant student also mentioned that they can feel more differences between them and their Caucasian peers when they got older and started to enter the society dealing with job market. The daughter from family Dai said:

When I was young, I didn't think there was anything difference between me and my classmates except the skin colour. After I got older, I found there were differences. I can't explain exactly why. I always had to try more times than my Caucasian friends to get the same part-time jobs or internships, especially when the jobs were knowledge-based rather than minor or labour jobs. Although my grades were fine, and I believed I did a good interview, the chance for me to get the job was small if there were other Caucasian candidates. I don't know. Maybe I was not good enough?

The mother from family Shen gave similar comments about her son's summer job searching experiences. Her son failed many times when searching for summer jobs. While there was one time her son finally got the job, but the interview process was interesting. She told that the interview lasted for a short time, questions were quite simple too. But after the interview, when the interviewer walked her son out, in the hallway, they started to talk about hockey games. They were so into the topic and the talk lasted for a half hour. This mother made the comment that she was not sure whether her son did a good job in the interview or her son showed more Western young people's qualities which helped him get this job.

Summary and Discussion

Before moving to Canada, Chinese immigrant parents had a basic impression that education in Canada was well developed and was better for their children's future. But parents lacked knowledge about the real situation of educational system and teaching style in Canadian schools. Although parents gave positive comments regarding their children's schooling experiences in most aspects, they were not totally satisfied

considering the big difference between the educational ideology and teaching style in Chinese school and Canadian school.

Chinese immigrant parents appreciated how teachers cared about the student's comprehensive development, like self-learning ability, personality development, social skill, critical thinking, and creativity rather than just focused on students' academic grading. They talked about how teachers cared about students' well-being physically and emotionally. Parents were also impressed how teachers treated every student with fairness and friendliness. As for the concerns parents held regarding their children's schooling, their main worry was that their children would be less motivated to put efforts into their studies without the pressure from teachers. Parents expected teachers to challenge students more, especially when students did not have trouble fulfilling the basic requirements in their studies. Another concern held by parents was the lack of communication between parents and the school. Parents expected teachers to communicate more factual appraisal of their children's study progress. Parents were thus dissatisfied when schools conveyed what they considered to be superficial and exclusively positive commentary rather than pointed out the weakness in their children's studies. Language barriers and different philosophies about educating students seemed to be the main reasons for inefficient communication between parents and teachers. Without enough information from the communication with the school, Chinese immigrant parents depended on themselves more to assist their children's study at home. They shared information with other Chinese immigrant parents and gave each other suggestions regarding children's education in Canada.

Lareau (1987) said the ideal family-school relationship is a partnership in which family life and school life is integrated. Parents tried to adjust their parenting at home to be more consistent with the school culture in Canada. The early immigrant parents who had been living in Canada for a longer time were more confident with Canadian educational system. They believed the curriculum provided by Canadian schools would sufficiently prepare their children for future education and career.

Chinese immigrant students expressed they were glad to receive education in Canadian schools, which brought them a new experience. Language was still a salient issue for them even after the first few years' transition lives. As for schoolwork, they did not have many problems. They felt less pressure from school and had more spare time to explore themselves. Being free from the high competitive educational environment of China gave them more time and space to think about their own future. It made them realize study was their own thing rather than something imposed by their parents and teachers. As Asian students in Canadian schools, Chinese immigrant students were often expected to live up to an Asian stereotype or group image.

Chinese immigrant students' schooling experiences were not just about learning language, catching up with courses, or making friends. Their schooling experiences were intertwined with their living experiences at large. Going to school in Canada opened a new world for them. Their ways of thinking and living, their attitudes, values, and beliefs were all influenced by the new learning environment and the people around them in school. Chinese immigrant students' intercultural schooling experience stimulated their socialization and development in many different ways such as their educational plans and visions about their future life.

Role Model and Peer Influence

Chinese immigrant parents agreed peer influence was important for their children's educational achievement, moral cultivation, and overall development. Some parents said peer influence was more important than parents' influence especially when children reached the teenage phase, tending to listen to peers more than to their parents. Chinese immigrant children experienced different standards from their parents and from the school environment regarding how they should behave and what kind of person should they become. Most children needed to face the dilemma of "being good" in their parents' eyes and "being popular" in the school culture.

Parents' Voice

Peer groups provide an important context that influences Chinese immigrant students' educational expectations and affects their value development and behaviour change, which in turn impacts their life-trajectories. Thus Chinese immigrant parents emphasize the potential influence their children's friend making on their study and moral cultivation. They were intent on keeping track of their children's social circle. They tried to bring good peer influence to their children by creating role models in their children's lives or pushing their children to the friends' circle they believed was better for their children. Parents wanted their children to hang out with other children who had higher expectations and better school performance. Parents believed that, if their children spent more time with peers with low educational expectations, it might influence their children's vision about future educational attainment and career plan in a negative way. When parents found the peer group their children were in was not good for their studies, parents would try to intervene to change the peer group composition around their children.

Although parents cared about peer influence playing a big role in their children's educational expectations and attitude towards schoolwork, they were more alert and strict if their children got negative influence in terms of the moral aspects and bad behaviours.

The “ideal child” in Chinese cultural frame.

In Chinese culture, there was a image of an “ideal child”. Shek and Chan (1999) said the ideal child image was closely related to traditional values in Confucian ideology: respect for elders, good manners, self-discipline, and good academic outcome. Sung (1987) summarized: “By Chinese standards, a ‘good’ child is one . . . who studies hard and values hard work, who has a more realistic outlook on life by willingness to accept what is, and who will strive to outperform others” (p.328).

In Chinese immigrant parents' narratives, their children were expected to live up to the standard of the ideal child by being successful in education and being a good person who contribute to society. There is a Chinese saying: “When one is close to red ink, one becomes red; when one is close to black ink, one becomes black” (Jin zhu zhe chi; jin mo zhe hei. 近朱者赤; 近墨者黑). It indicated that people will be influenced by the people they interact with. This ideal child image in Chinese immigrant parents' mind was like a reference for parents to pay attention to their children's friends circle and push children to learn from role models who were recognized as an ideal child by Chinese standard. Parents also showed how much effort they had put to make sure the peer influence in their children's living surroundings was beneficial for their children's development.

As mentioned before, there are two essentials to being the ideal child in Chinese culture. The first is to achieve high academically; the second is to be morally well-

behaved. In the interviews, Chinese immigrant parents put these two essentials in priority differently when they were in different stages of immigration life. The recent Chinese immigrant parents cared more about whether their children could overcome the language barriers and catch up with local students on their studies. Early Chinese immigrant parents were more concerned whether their children would become “wild” or “rebellious” because they were more exposure to Canadian young people’s life style and wild behaviours.

In the interviews, parents gave many examples showing how much effort they put forth to ensure that their children received positive influences about their study. For example, the mother from family Wei was moving to Toronto because she thought the educational environment in Saskatoon was not competitive enough to motivate her children to study harder. She wanted to put her children in a environment with more competitive peers to motivate them to have higher expectations for themselves:

Children need to be in a competitive environment to help them build higher expectations. I have been living in Saskatoon for almost two years. I realized this city may not be the best place for my children’s future development. Students here are not competitive enough compared with students in other bigger cities. The longer we live here, the more relaxed my children will become about their studies because they are not around competitive peers. So I already decided to move to Toronto, where the educational system is better according to my research and communication with my friend there. I want my son to be more ambitious with bigger visions rather than to be a big fish in a small pond.

The mother from family Liang felt frustrated because all of her son’s friends were doing so poorly in school. She hoped her son would come to know students who were doing better, even just a little bit better than him, then he might get some positive influences on his schoolwork:

Peer influence and emotional support from peers are crucial to teenagers' education. Teenagers won't always listen to their parents because they may think parents are pushing them to do something. But teenagers are vulnerable to influence from peers because they share many things and feelings with each other. My son is not good at study. All of his friends are similar to him. They spent most of their after school time playing sports or computer games. As for schoolwork, they just want to get by. I am so anxious there are no peers in his social circle who could influence him to put more efforts on his study. I cannot control his friends circle. But I still hope he can know some friends who work harder than him on study. Then maybe he will change his mind and have a more positive attitude towards schoolwork.

Both mothers from these two Chinese families were recent immigrants who came to Canada approximately two years ago. They were still in the transition phase of living in Canada. They were less worried about their children hanging out with "bad kids" because their children still had language barriers and had limited chances to interact with many Canadian-born children outside of school. So they cared more about whether their children can learn from other students who were doing well in school, especially from other top Chinese immigrant students.

Parents who had been living in Canada for a longer time also emphasized their children's studies. But when we discussed about peer influence, they frequently spoke about how they worried their children would get a negative influence in terms of moral and behaviour respects. For example, the mother from Feng gave an example about his son's interest in trading sports cards:

My son used to get interested in collecting sports cards, and went to the mall to trade cards with others. It was unacceptable for me because most people who traded cards with him were middle-aged unemployed men. I was afraid he might get the idea that it was okay to just trade cards in the mall instead of having a normal job. Some of his classmates also traded cards in the mall. I shared my worries with some Western parents. However, they did not oppose this behaviour as strongly as I did even though they had the same reservation about it. I feel I am

harsher than Western parents when it comes to the potential negative influences on my son's development.

She gave another example of her supervision on her son's social circle. She applied every possible way to avoid the potential risky behaviours her son might try under the peer pressure:

My son used to go to the biggest middle school in Saskatoon. Since the school was so big with large numbers of students from varying family backgrounds, there was a greater chance that my son would encounter some students with bad behaviours. For example, my son told me there were students selling drugs in school. He also mentioned some students were very rude and disrespectful. I transferred him to another smaller school because the students' composition was simpler as there were fewer students there. I also paid attention to who my son hanged out with. He has to get my approval to attend any party or other activities with friends. He sometimes felt overprotected by me. While I believe parental guidance on teenagers' friends making and social life are important. I won't compromise on this.

Although Chinese immigrant parents prioritised influences from peers differently, they agreed peers could give their children emotional support and a sense of belonging, which could help their children's personality development and general well-being. For example, recent Chinese immigrant parents worried about their children's psychological health following immigration. They believed making new friends in Canada was important to help their children's acculturation. Parents also believed their children would be mentally healthier and spiritual stronger by being with friends who cared about and supported them. The mother from family Wu shared the story about her daughter's strong friendship with a few friends and their plans to keep their friendship long lasting:

My eldest daughter has four friends. They all are very sincere friends and very loyal to each other. It does not matter whether these children are top students or which ethnic background they are from. The most important thing is that they care and support each other. They have been friends for five years. They have a perfect plan to keep their friendship. They plan to go to the same high school, the

same university, rent the same apartment, grow up together through this whole journey, and become each other's bridesmaid. I sincerely hope these five girls could fulfill their plans and keep their friendships for a very long time.

Chinese immigrant parents intended to train their children to live up to the ideal child standard in Chinese culture. Some parents kept strong relationships with Chinese immigrant community. Zhou (1997) said the ethnic networks were a form of social capital that can act to "moderate original cultural patterns, to legitimize re-established values and norms, and to enforce consistent standards" (p. 997). The ideal child image in Chinese culture was not necessary supported in Canadian social culture. Expecting Chinese immigrant children to become the Chinese cultural defined ideal child when they were living in Canada brought challenges to parents. In fact, most parents adjusted their monitoring of children's social circle applying a more democratic way, yet their monitoring remained principled.

"See other kids....., why you cannot be like that....."

There is a long tradition among Chinese parents to compare their children with other children who perform better in school or have good qualities. They usually lecture their children starting with "see other kids....., why you cannot be like that....." (看别人家的孩子.....,你为什么不能像那样呢.....). For some Chinese immigrant parents who came to Canada around the same time, they kept close relationships and would update information to each other about their experiences and feelings of living in Canada especially for the first few years. Obviously, children's schooling and academic achievement was the most frequent topic discussed among parents. Chinese immigrant children's successful stories and achievements would transfer quickly among parents, and

they would talk about these stories to motivate their own children. For example, the mother from family Liang said:

I have a friend doing part time jobs in Vancouver to support her daughter's study. Her daughter understands her mom's sacrifice. She studies very hard. A few days ago, I got the good news from my friend, telling me that her daughter received an offer from University of British Columbia in business management. I am so happy for them. I told my son about this. I hope my son understand that all the hard work will be rewarded if he would like to put more efforts into his studies. Unfortunately, he did not take my words seriously. It seemed like he did not care about other people's success. He still spends most of his time playing, which frustrates me a lot. I don't know what to do to help him change his mind. Maybe I just wait for the day to come when he grows up and realizes the importance of education.

The mother from family Wei shared similar comments about setting good examples and role models for her children by telling them other Chinese immigrant children's achievement on education:

I have a friend living in Toronto. I contacted her a lot about children's educational issues in Canada. She has been living in Canada for many years. I trust her. She gave me many good suggestions and helped me learn more about Canadian society. Her oldest son is studying at University of Waterloo majoring in actuarial science. This is a good major. I believe he does not need to worry about finding a job after graduation. Her younger son is in high school, planning to apply for the universities in America. Both of her two sons are goal-oriented and study hard. I asked my two children to learn from them and set goals in their lives then try their best to fulfill their goals. My children don't have many friends here. Other Chinese immigrant students' successful stories will definitely have positive influences on them and provide good examples for them to follow.

Chinese immigrant parents talked about the success stories of other children with the intention to inspire their children. Actually, they knew that their children did not like such comparing, but they cannot help doing this because they hoped their children could live up to their expectations. The mother from family Chen said:

If I hear about some good news from my friend that their children receive offer from a top universities or find a good job, I will feel so happy for them, at the

same a little bit jealous. I will let my son learn from them to study harder. Usually my son would just ignore me when I talk about other children's achievements. However, I just want to take every opportunity to remind my son the importance of education. I believe he understand my intention despite behaving indifferent about this kind of lecturing.

The mother from family Feng mentioned that Chinese immigrant students who came to Canada as teenagers usually studied harder than Chinese immigrant students who moved here before school age. She gave an example comparing her niece and her son regarding their motivation and self-discipline in their studies:

My niece just immigrated to Canada a few years ago. She studies hard and always gets good grades. Maybe because she had received education in China for many years before she got here. She has a good foundation of knowledge and study habits. She behaves like typical good students in China, for example, very diligent and self-motivated. I praised her in front of my son, encouraging him to learn from her. But he did not take it well. He was upset that I compared him with her, yelling at me: She is she; I am I. We are different! Don't expect me to be like her!

For Chinese immigrant parents, comparing their children with other children and encouraging their children to learn from other children who achieve high in education has been one of their parenting strategies. Some early Chinese immigrant parents made adjustments to avoid this kind of comparison between their children and other children because it was more difficult for their children who had been living in Canada for long time to accept these comparisons and lectures from parents.

“I know all my child's friends.”

Chinese immigrant parents believed certain rules were necessary to protect their children from potential bad influence from peers. They preferred their children not to totally imitate Western young people's style. Parents believed their responsibility was to keep their children on the right track through their guidance and positive peer influence.

Parents understood it was not easy to question children's friends making directly. So they were vigilant about their children's behaviour change and the activities their children were involved in. Parents ensured they knew who their children were hanging out with. Most parents said they knew all their children's friends. They would definitely give their opinions or cut the relationship if they found their children interacted with any friend they believed would potentially lead their children to do bad things or become involved in risky behaviours. Parents seemed to share the same definition of "bad friends": who did not do well in school; who were rude and disrespectful; and who were engaged in risky activities such as taking drugs or drinking. Chinese immigrant parents were also concerned about what family background their children's friends were from. Parents assumed children who were from dysfunctional families more likely would bring negative impact to their children. For example, the mother from family Xie said:

Most of my son's friends are local Caucasian children. One friend's mother is a nurse. Another friend's mother is an elementary school teacher. Other friends' parents are all employed and the family relationships are good. It is important to make sure my son hangs out with normal children from normal families. Some parents are irresponsible, jobless, have drinking problems, or some other family problems. I don't want to be judgemental, but it is true that children from dysfunctional families tend to make more troubles when they grow up. If my son socialize with them, it is possible for my son to be badly influenced. Peer influence is so big to teenagers' development.

Chinese immigrant children were requested to report detailed information about the social activities they would be involved in after school in order to get their parents' approval. Parents made sure they could reach their children anytime if necessary. If parents noticed their children were interacting with peers who tended to be wild or enjoy trying age inappropriate things, parents would forbid their children going out with these friends. For example, the mother from family Feng said:

Whenever my son wants to attend any party or go out playing with friends. I have to know who he will go out with, what they will do, and when will he be back. I will decide whether it is an appropriate or safe activity for him to attend. Without my permission, he cannot attend. I gave my son a cellphone in case I want to contact him. There was one time he did not answer my phone call. I took back his phone for a few months to teach him a lesson that he should make sure I can reach him whenever I feel necessary. There was another time I noticed somebody sent him a message on Facebook inviting him to go drinking. I checked this with him, wanting to know who this person was and requested my son to cut off his contact with this person. He is a teenager. It is so easy for him to learn bad things under the peer pressure. As a parent, I won't allow my son to cross the line to do anything bad. I know all his friends' backgrounds. They are all good children. Their studies are okay. They are polite. And they all like to play sports.

Chinese immigrant parents' close involvement in children's friends making and social activities sometimes may cause conflicts between parents and children because children felt overprotected and distrusted by parents. Parents insisted on the necessity of the close supervision of children's social life because they worried their children would pick up bad habits or try risky behaviours without the watchful eyes and guidance from parents.

Children's Voice

In China, there is no difference regarding the standards of being a good student who studies hard and is well-behaved in their parents' eyes and being a popular student in their teachers' and peers' eyes. The expectations from parents and the expectations from school are the same. Students who are doing well in schoolwork and always got good grades would be their teachers' favourite students; parents would be proud of them; and other students would look up to them. However, in Canadian schools, Chinese immigrant students needed to face the inconformity of expectations from their parents and the school. Being good at study was no longer the only standard to evaluate a student or

determine whether a student would be popular or not in school. When Chinese immigrant teenagers described their schooling experiences, two words were frequently quoted: “popular student” and “nerd”. Students who are good at sports, active in different school events, brave to express themselves, and have many friends, are likely to become popular. Students who are only good at study, less active, and lack of social skills, are likely to be regarded as nerds.

“I want to be popular student.”

In Chinese culture, a “good girl” should be doing well in school, knowing how to protect herself, conservative on dealing with relationships, not attending parties, and staying at home most of the time. Partying or dating were the two least supportive behaviours by Chinese immigrant parents. Parents tended to apply stricter and more traditional rules on the girls than on the boys.

On the other hand, to be popular girls in Canadian schools required behaviours that were different from their Chinese family education. Chinese immigrant students described popular girls in their schools as stylish, active in many clubs and programs, successful in getting attention, particularly male attention, socializing with many people, and always moved as a group.

To be a “good boy” in Chinese culture, doing well in school is the most important criterion just as it is for girls. There is a Chinese phrase: “wang zi cheng long” (望子成龙), it means expecting the son to become a dragon. Chinese immigrant parents’ biggest worry was their boys would “hang out with bad people,” “go down the wrong road,” become “rebellious” or “out of control,” and “become crazy.” For example, parents

worried that their sons would be involved in risky behaviours like cutting classes, joining gangs, fighting, doing drugs, drinking, and so on.

On the other hand, some Chinese immigrant boys wanted to be popular in school. Participating in sports was considered the easiest way to be accepted by peers, or playing computer games, or be active in many different things in school. Of course, popular boys always had many friends to hang out with.

Chinese immigrant students had different experiences of peer interaction attributed to their different immigration backgrounds and cultural identifications. Most Chinese immigrant students who immigrated to Canada before school age or were born in Canada socialized with Canadian-born English speaking peers. They also had Chinese immigrant friends who were from early Chinese immigrant families and shared similar experiences of growing up in Canada. They barely socialized with new Chinese immigrant peers because of the language barriers and different patterns of thinking and behaviour. They behaved more like popular students; at least they had stronger intention to join the popular group than recent Chinese immigrant students did, who usually stayed in their comfort social circle, which included more recent immigrant students. The son from family Feng came to Canada when he was four years old. His mother talked about why he wanted to be a popular student and showed little interest to being a good student/nerd:

My son doesn't want to be top student. He believes all the top students are nerds. He wants to be a popular kid in his school. How to become popular kid? Okay, you need to be good at sports. You have to have new sports shirt, new sneakers, collect a lot of sports cards to show off in front of other student. You also need to have a group of friends. You guys will go to play sports every day after school. Your grades should be average or above average. If your grades are too poor, it is a drawback to be a popular kid. Good looking is definitely a plus. My son is a

popular student in his school actually. One of his teachers told me that many students looked up to him.

His mother tried to keep him in an advanced class but failed because he did not like “there were so many nerds in the advanced class”:

I used to persuade him to join the advanced class on the condition that he can drop out if he felt difficult to get used to the new environment. He eventually agreed to take the examination and then successfully transferred to the advanced class. However, he dropped out after one semester. According to what he said, he did not like the atmosphere of the advanced class because students there behaved like nerds. He gave me an example: some students would ask for more homework from teacher, which he thought was ridiculous. He preferred to enjoy spare time with his friends and play sports rather than to study at home. His teacher expressed the regret about his dropping out because his teacher saw his potential and he is indeed a very intelligent child.

It was hard to be a popular and a top student at the same time. If some Chinese immigrant students showed stronger intention to get into the popular groups, most had to sacrifice time studying, and they easily got distracted by interpersonal relationships and social activities. The daughter from family Li commented about one of her friends who spent so much time socializing with other students. Her life-style and attitude towards education, according to what this girl’s comments, were more “Westernized”:

I used to have a Chinese immigrant girlfriend from high school. I did not keep close relationship with her after we went to university. According to what I can recall, she was very outgoing, always hanged out with friends, dressed very stylish and bold, and the way she talk was more like Western young people using lots of slangs. She had many party photos on her social media. It seemed she was proud of her busy social life and how close she was with her Western friends. I heard about her stories from other friends that she did not do well in school because studying was not her priority. I think everybody has different personalities. I don’t feel so eager to be involved in Western young people’s social circle. I don’t want to judge her. But for myself, I won’t feel comfortable to do so. I don’t envy her life style either. So I guess people are just different.

Every Chinese immigrant student was different. Some students who came to Canada at early age or were born in Canada were never members of the popular groups in school because they grew up in traditional Chinese family and were overprotected by their parents. The daughter from family Dai was a good example:

I have never been in the popular group in school. I dress like a tomboy, wearing simple clothes. My mom did not buy me fashionable or girly clothes because she thought I should dress properly for school, just like a normal student. My parents requested me to go back home immediately after school. They did not allow me to join any club and stay at my friend's place for too long. I was not allowed to attend any party unless my brother could be there with me. I know my parents have been always overprotective of me. But I don't want to argue with them. In their mind, girls should behave in a certain way. It is not necessary to disobey them or to try to change their mind. It would make the situation worse. They have been living their whole lives with the values they believe. I don't think they will change. Now I am old enough, I want to travel more, make more decisions by myself. Still, my parents are very caring about my safety whenever I go to another city by myself. One time I went to the city for a concert, my father called me six times in three hours. It is the way they care about me and protect me.

Her brother, the son from family Dai, shared similar experiences regarding how close their parents supervised his peer group and social activities. Because of this supervision, it was hard for him to get away from parents' rules and do more things he wanted to do when he was a teenager. He tried many ways to balance his behaviour: following his parents' rules most of the time but trying to have more fun without getting punished by parents:

When I was young, my mom always asked me who did I go out with and when would I get back. She seemed to know all of my friends. But the funny thing was that I never told her who my friends were. I remembered there was one time I went to one of my friends' home to play video games after school. Shortly after I got to my friend's home, my mom called to my friend's house. I was so surprised that she knew the phone number? Sometimes my friends will come to my house to get me out to play with them. My mom allowed me to go out sometimes depending on whether she liked those kids. I found she only allowed me to play

with certain friends who she believed were normal, meaning nothing crazy about them or something like that.

Being a popular student in school was driven by the peer culture in Canadian schools. Some Chinese immigrant teenagers showed their intention to become members of the popular group in school. Others felt being popular was not the priority in their schooling experiences. Family education, immigrant students' personalities, and the length of time of immigration were factors influencing Chinese immigrant students' attitudes toward dealing with peer groups' socialization in school.

“They don’t have a life.”

The new immigrant teenagers cannot speak English well, were the quiet group in school, and were also less active in sports and other school activities. They felt more comfortable communicating with other new immigrant children. It was not easy for them to be taken by the mainstream group of peers. They made friends in ESL class. It showed that, in the dynamic peer competition for power and popularity, newcomer adolescents were often left out because they were seen as less desirable by native-born or more acculturated students (Li, 2009). In my interviews, the mother from family Guo quoted a comment made by her Canadian-born daughter about new Chinese immigrant students, saying that “they don’t have a life”:

There are a few Chinese immigrant teenagers in my daughter’s class. They just came to Canada approximately one or two years ago. Personally, I would like my daughter to make friends with them to get the positive peer influence from them, like Chinese student’s diligence and ambition. However, it is not easy for my daughter to hang out with them because of the totally different upbringing environments and schooling experiences. My daughter behaves quite Western. Most of her friends are Canadian-born Caucasian students. She told me the new Chinese immigrant teenagers talked in Mandarin in their own small group and went back home together after school. They also got the highest grades on each

subject most of the time. During the break, they barely left their seats. Instead, they stayed in the classroom to play with their iPad learning English. So my daughter commented that Chinese students don't have a life other than studying.

The son from family Xie, as an immigrant student who moved to Canada at five years old, shared similar comments about recent Chinese immigrant students. He did not mind to make friends with recent Chinese immigrant students, but it was not easy because it seemed they had different priorities and spent their school time on different things:

Most of my friends are Canadian-born Caucasian students. The Chinese students in my school don't speak English well. They speak Chinese most of the time when they are not in the class. Besides, they are not very active. For example, we usually play football in the park after school before we go back home. They barely play with us, they prefer to go back home directly. I guess most of the Chinese students are very good at studying. I don't know. It is just the basic impression I have for Chinese students. I know they usually get high grades. Although I am also Chinese, I don't think they will bring me too much pressure because I think I can be better on my studying as long as I put in more effort. Instead, I feel more jealous about some of my friends who are good at sports. For example, one of my friends is very good at playing football. I want to be as good as him on playing football.

While it was not necessary true for all new Chinese immigrant teenagers to be less active, quite or only focus on studying. This research showed new Chinese immigrant teenagers were more likely to be regarded as nerds by peers. Their parents were stricter than the early Chinese immigrant parents on their schoolwork. Most of them had the self-conscious to put efforts into their studies because they had been through the transition life with their parents. Due to the language fluency and cultural difference, it took time for them to be more involved in Canadian teenager's school life. The son from family Wei moved to Canada two years ago, he said:

I have a few friends of Asia and Latin America background. We take the ESL class together. I don't talk much with Canadian-born students because I am not

confident about my English. My English has improved a lot after I moved to Canada, but still not good enough. I can understand most of my Canadian classmates' communication, but have trouble to understand some of the content especially when it comes to the cultural related topics and local jokes. I am getting used to being involved in some of the after school activities like playing football. However, most of the time I come back home directly from school. I can finish homework in short time, but I have extra study task every day after school.

As noted above, although the recent Chinese immigrant students realized they should improve English as soon as possible, it took them time to feel comfortable to communicate with others in English. Spending half of the school time in ESL class slowed down their English practice because they could find many other Chinese immigrant students in ESL class, and they felt unnatural to talk to each other in English. Proficiency in English is a crucial element for immigrant youth to gain studentship, which enables them to become active members of their educational community. Because of recent Chinese immigrant students' language barriers, they lacked communication confidence and capability to get more involved in peers' activities. Being left out by the main peer group in school might push the new Chinese immigrant students to depend more on their parents and other new immigrant students. The peer interaction situation might change when new Chinese immigrant students became more acculturated. But for some of them, when they came to Canada at the senior middle school age, peer socialization was not the priority in their lives. Preparing for university was more important for them.

Summary and Discussion

Chinese immigrant parents had an ideal child image in their mind expecting their children to live up to. Parents in this research put much efforts into making sure the peer influence in their children's living surrounding was beneficial for their children's

development, at the same time they were alert to potential negative peer influence.

Parents believed it was their responsibility to apply certain rules to help their children avoid bad influence from peers. As Teachman and Paasch (1998) said, a child's community is important for the development of expectations because it determines the types of interactions a child has with peers. Parents also emphasized the social and emotional supports from peers. Parents resisted giving their teenage children total freedom because it was easy for these teenage children to make bad decisions and get involved in risky things without parental guidance.

Chinese immigrant parents had different priorities with respect to different peer influences including influence on academic or moral aspects. Some recent immigrant parents paid more attention to children's schoolwork because they worried the changing educational environment may bring difficulties to their children's studying because of the language barriers and changed teaching style. Some immigrant parents who had been living in Canada for longer time, expressed more worries that their children might imitate Western young people's risky behaviours and try things under peer pressure. Parents understood it was not easy to question children's friend making directly. So they were vigilant about their children's behaviour change and activities they were involved in. They had to engage in intervention into their children's social circle if they believed the norms of attitude and behaviour in certain peer group were not good for their children's development, either academically or morally.

Chinese immigrant students were living in the overlapping social surroundings of Chinese family culture and Canadian school context. They need to balance between two expectations from parents and from school. Parents and peer groups may influence each

other in their contributions to child development. Chinese immigrant students faced the challenge to balance between “being good” in their parents’ eyes and “being popular” among school peers. In Chinese culture, one core element of “being good” for children means they need to be good at schoolwork. Chinese immigrant students were not happy to be titled “nerd” in school. The requirements for “being popular” in Canadian school often hinged on non-academic activities like sports and having many friends. Before coming to Canada, Chinese immigrant students spent a larger proportion of their time on studying. Their schedule was packed with different study tasks and exams. They had quite limited opportunities to socialize with peers. Unlike Canadian teenagers who can spend more time with friends without being supervised by parents, Chinese teenagers’ social activities were closely supervised by their parents.

Li (2009) applied peer socialization to explain different high school Chinese immigrant students’ peer groups. She found there were “Banana” group (Yellow face with white mind, a label for Westernized Chinese), CBC group (Canadian-born Chinese), FOB group (Fresh-off-boat, a label for new immigrants). In this research, it was true that there were different subgroups among Chinese immigrant students. The new Chinese immigrant teenagers tended to be left out by peers including other Chinese immigrant students who had been living in Canada longer. Likewise, they were more likely to feel being targets of prejudice. Their parents were stricter than the early immigrant parents about their schoolwork. Most of them consciously put efforts into their studies because of the education they had received in China and their being through the transition lives with their parents to start new life in Canada. They were regarded as less active and less confident by Canadian-born or more acculturated Chinese immigrant students. They

were more likely to perceive themselves as less integrated with the larger Canadian school contexts. They also felt more comfortable to communicate with their in-group ethnic affiliations or other new immigrant students as sources of a satisfactory sense of self. The more Westernized or more acculturated Chinese immigrant students had their own peer groups, they may not achieve as high grades as recent Chinese immigrant students did. Their school lives were more balanced with many other after school activities. Their visions about future lives were also different from recent Chinese immigrant students' visions.

Values and Beliefs Regarding Children's Education

Societies under variable cultures differ in their conceptions of the ideal or desired traits in children. Parental beliefs and goals may reasonably differ as parents seek to develop culturally desired traits in their children. Differences in cultural values lead to specific differences in parental beliefs (Okagaki & Sternberg, 1993). Parents' values and beliefs regarding their children's education have direct effects on children because these values and beliefs will be reflected in parents' attitude and practice through day-to-day interactions and routines in the family. In Asian cultures, the importance of education is linked to a strong belief in human malleability and an emphasis on bringing honour to one's family (Chen & Uttal, 1988). Parents believe educational achievement is attainable as long as children can put efforts to achieve it. Growing up in Chinese family culture has a big social influence on Chinese immigrant children's learning and motivation. Filial piety and children's obligations to their parents were two core values within Chinese families. "Child learns to see the world strictly on an individual basis in

America,” while, “Chinese child learns to see the world as a network of relationships” (Hsu, 1953, p. 88, as cited in Bornstein, 2005). Chinese immigrant parents, as significant others in children’s lives, played a crucial role in children’s socialization given the strong relationship between parents and children defined in Chinese culture. In this research, Chinese immigrant children internalized the values and beliefs both from their parents and from what they saw and experienced outside of their families. Children accepted, rejected, and combined the informational inputs in the formation of their achievement attitudes. The individual characteristics of children shaped their perceptual ideology of the role of education in their lives.

Parents’ Voice

Steinberg et al. (1992) claimed different attitudes toward education among different ethnic groups were due to the extent to which students believed they would do well without a good education. They found most adolescents: African American, Asian American, Latino, and European American, had the belief that if they receive a good education they would be able to get the kind of jobs they want. However, African American and Latino adolescents were more likely to believe that they could obtain the jobs they want without getting a good education. Asian American and European American students believed that a good education is, in essence, a prerequisite to obtain the jobs they want. Similar to this argument, it was indicated in this research that Chinese parents encouraged their children to pursue education as a mechanism for a good job and high social status in Canada.

Chinese immigrant parents’ values and beliefs regarding education showed their cultural root in Confucian philosophy and their acculturation in Canadian society.

Confucius' educational theories and principles had a prevalent influence on parents' values and beliefs regarding children's education. In Confucianism, "Studying is superior to anything" (wan ban jie xia pin, wei you du shu gao. 万般皆下品，唯有读书高). Chinese immigrant parents shared similar thoughts about children's education in Canada with some minor differences mainly due to their levels of exposure to Canadian society and the length of time they had been living in Canada. Chinese immigrant parents' perceptions of their living experiences in Canada brought new understandings about their children's education in Canada.

The Meaning behind the Cliché: "I just want my children to be happy."

When parents described their expectations for their children's future lives, the most frequent comment made by all the participating parents was that they just wanted their children to be happy. Chinese immigrant parents had their own definition of "what is happiness." Happiness was built on some foundations, which their children should achieve before they could enjoy their happiness. One of the foundations Chinese immigrant parents believed was that their children need to achieve a certain level of education. For Chinese immigrant parents, receiving education had three values for their children:

1. Education would provide children the opportunity to learn and to develop themselves. One of Confucius's legacies is the idea of a love or passion for learning (haoxue, 好学). Learning is believed to be the only pathway towards lifelong moral striving and self perfection. Parents expected their children to perfect themselves morally and to contribute to society through learning.

2. Education could bring a bright future for children, including good jobs and a high social status. Parents' life experience in Canada strengthened their ideas about how much education their children should receive and how important for immigrant children to get ahead through education.

3. Education could help children become knowledgeable and strong person to face the challenge in life. Parents concerned about there were potential discrimination and uneven opportunities their children might face in the future. So parents hoped their children to develop their own judgement and faith to deal with future challenges and tough situations. Because of these values Chinese immigrant parents attached to education, they took big proud from achieving high in education. They regarded this kind of achievement as a family honour, a source of happiness.

Chinese immigrant parents expected their children to think rationally and to delay immediate gratification in order to attain long-term goals. The mother from family Wei claimed that happiness was not easy to achieve if people did not work hard when they were young. She wanted their children to have the vision of enjoying a happy life in their later life by working hard to build a solid foundation when they are young:

All parents want their children to be happy. But I think being happy when the children are young is not enough. Children should study hard when they are young, then they may have better life when they have to be independent and live on their own in the future. If I only care about whether my children are happy or not, I can just let them do whatever they want. They don't need to spend time on studying. I am sure they will feel happy because life will be easy for them, as they can completely enjoy their happy time when they are young. The problem is whether they will still be happy when they grow up and find that they cannot get a good job to support themselves? I doubt that. Will they feel regret that they should have spent more time on studying when they are young, then life would be easier when they grow up? I guess they might. So I don't think just being happy is enough for young children. We as parents should guide children to do the right things. Children don't realize how tough life might become in the future, if they

don't put effort into their schoolwork now. I would rather they hate me for forcing them to study hard now than blame me for not supervising their studies if they have tough life later. I want my children to be happy in the long run instead of being happy when they are young.

The mother from family Wu shared the similar thoughts, saying that begging for food was out of the definition of happiness. Happiness cannot be achieved when people cannot be financially independent:

I want my children to be happy and enjoy a fruitful life. I will support them to pursue their dream careers. However, I will definitely raise my voice when they want to choose some careers that I cannot see a promising future in. For example, I won't be so supportive if they choose to pursue art as a full time job. I strongly believe my children have to be financially independent by doing the job they choose. This is the bottom line. It would be a perfect situation for them if they could make a living through their careers that they have passion with. I don't want my children to take the risk to pursue art, which might not be enough to support them financially. They could spend all of their spare time to do art on the condition that they have other stable jobs. I don't want to see my children begging for food one day. This is the true feeling from a mother's perspective.

The living experience in Canada helped Chinese immigrant parents develop more comprehensive understanding regarding what was happy life for their children. Most parents tried to find a balance between emphasizing the instrumental rewards from education and the self-cultivation and self-perfection purpose through education. Although the mother from family Wu emphasized the importance that her daughters' future careers could bring the financial security, she chose not to set more rules regarding her daughters' career choice. She had no intention to push her daughters pursuing high-ranking jobs like medical doctor or lawyer. Instead, she sincerely hoped that her daughters could find something her daughters' hearts long for:

My own experience growing up in China makes me realize that I don't want to put my children under the same pressure. My experiences are like most of the Chinese people. Parents wanted me to go to good high school and top university,

and then find a good job. To be honest, my childhood was pretty boring. I just did whatever parents let me to do. I did not have the opportunity to do the things I really like. I hope I can do something that I really enjoy after I retire. So for my children, I truly hope that they can live free and fulfilling lives without the outer constraints.

Obviously parents wanted their children to be happy but this kind of happiness was not purely ideological wish. Instead, this happiness was tangible and concrete. In their opinions, their children's happiness was condition or terms applied. Parents taught their children to understand that they should be responsible for their lives and build the foundation for their future happiness. Along with the instrumental rewards from pursuing education, Chinese immigrant parents also believed receiving education and having the passion for learning (haoxue, 好学) was the way to help children self-development to be a mature and strong person with good moral qualities.

“Every child has the potential to succeed.”

In traditional Chinese philosophy, there is a strong cultural belief in human malleability and potential for change. High achievement is seen as a matter of effort rather than innate ability (Okagaki, 2001). It was acknowledged that those of lesser intellectual capacity might have to travel more slowly, but there was no doubt that in the end they would cover the same ground. The innate ability may determine how fast people could acquire new knowledge, but the ultimate level of achievement should be attained through efforts. There is an old Chinese saying: “Diligence is the path to the book mountain, and pain is the boat for the knowledge ocean” (shu shan you lu qin wei jing, xue hai wu ya ku zuo zhou. 书山有路勤为径，学海无涯苦作舟). Furthermore,

there is always a possibility for improvement at any level of ability. So when people achieve success, they should remain humble to continue self-cultivation.

Some Chinese immigrant parents felt frustrated to see their children not to study hard enough because they had strong belief that success could be simply achieved by more efforts. In addition, parents were confident about their children's learning capability. All parents believed education was the means by which their children could rise to greater heights regardless of their immigrant status. For example, the mother from family Wei said that parents should hold higher expectations than just hope for their children to survive in the society:

I think every parent wants their children to survive in society, but there are different levels of surviving. I don't think just surviving or children can live independently is good enough. Most children can survive in the society. However, the quality of their life will be different partially depending on how well they have done in education. People's potential is unlimited. Why should we be simply satisfied with surviving if we know that life could be better if we try harder?

Compared to Western parents, who feel proud when their children are successful in one of the many realms of youths' lives (school, sports, music, or other arts), most Chinese parents express satisfaction only when their children have near perfect academic performance such as getting straight As or getting into one of the top universities. One of the reasons why Chinese parents feel this way is because they believe people should have different priorities in different stages of their life: studying should be Chinese students' priority, and they can pursue their other interests later. As assumed by Chinese parents, spending too much time on non-academic interests and hobbies will distract Chinese students from their schoolwork.

Chinese philosophy also emphasizes the importance of the environment in shaping the expression of human potential. Chinese parents take a strong responsibility

of their children's accomplishment and failure. There is an old Chinese saying: "The father is the person to blame for his son's failure" (zi bu jiao, fu zhi guo. 子不教，父之过). Parents should provide a good learning environment for their children and support their children's education in every way they could. Children's success means parents' success, children's failure is parents' shame. In this research, parents did not expect their children to pay them back in any ways. They simply desired to see their children to succeed in Canada.

Because of the beliefs about the relationship between effort and ability in Chinese culture, Chinese parents and teachers convey high expectations to Chinese students and ensure them that everyone can achieve success through hard work. Accordingly, parents and teachers value the qualities such as discipline, effort, hard work, and deferred gratification on Chinese students. As discussed in the previous section regarding Chinese immigrant parents' feedback about their children's schooling experiences in Canada, parents were not satisfied with the lack of challenge and expectations from teachers, so they felt more responsibility to keep their high expectations for their children and to involve more to track their children's schoolwork.

"I want my children to live an easy and comfortable life."

Most Chinese immigrant parents expressed their expectations that their children can live an easy and comfortable life in the future. Easy and comfortable life meant: living on professional knowledge and technology rather than on labour, being financially independent, and with high status on the social ladder. To fulfill these goals, Chinese immigrant students need to (a) get a degree from university, (b) learn a "useful" major in

university, and (c) secure a job with decent financial rewards. All Chinese immigrant parents in this research were the first generation immigrants. They had been working hard to build their new lives in Canada. They intended to help their children live an easy and comfortable life without going through the difficulties like they had. For Chinese immigrant parents, they did not want their children to have worries about finance or can only make the ends meet through nonstop hard working, especially through labour jobs. They also mentioned that discrimination and racism would be less if their children can make it to higher rungs on the ladder of social status. When Chinese parents were planning the future for their children, they were quite goal orientated and practical.

Chinese immigrant parents had a sense of crisis that their children might not be in an advantage position to find a good job in Canada. So they were motivated to help their children get good education to make up for the disadvantage situation. A bachelor's degree from university usually was Chinese immigrant parents' minimum expectation for their children. It was unacceptable for most Chinese immigrant parents if their children were just high school graduates or college graduates. For example, the mother from family Chen said:

There is no doubt I want my son to accept higher education. We are not in an advantage place to start our life and develop our career here as immigrants. It is not because this society is not fair. It is because we have the language barriers and other disadvantages. If we want to have a better life, we need to get better education and work harder. I don't want to see my son living a hard life like myself as a first generation immigrant. I hope he will have a good life and can enjoy life. My son never plans to go to a technical college. I did not encourage or oppose him to choose being a technician. There were some selective courses in applied technology from Grade 9 like carpentry. He did not show much interest in those courses.

Most Chinese immigrant parents did not support the idea that some children planned to work for a few years after finishing high school in order to figure out what kind of career they would like to pursue and then go back to university. For example, the mother from family Feng said:

I don't think it is necessary to work after high school and then go back to university just because some of the students don't have clear idea about what they like to learn from university, because all students have to learn the similar courses during their first two years in university. Students can take time to decide on their majors or even change majors later in university. So I prefer my son to go to university directly after finishing high school.

A Chinese philosopher Mencius said: "Those who work with their heads will rule, while those who work with their hands will serve" (lao xin zhe zhi ren, lao li zhe zhi yu ren. 劳心者治人, 劳力者治于人). In the interviews, none of the parents mentioned that they expected their children to apply for college or vocational schools, then make a living through labour work. They all planned for their children to go to universities or top universities. It was interesting that they mentioned one of the good things living in Canada was there was less discrimination to different occupations especially the occupations with lower social status. However, parents did not want their children to do labour jobs despite realizing there was no obvious discrimination about this kind of occupations in Canada. For example, the mother from family Wei said:

I don't want to see my children doing labour jobs. As a parent, I will be upset to watch them living a tough life. For example, bus driver, taxi driver, construction workers, or mechanic. I know these jobs have decent pay, but I don't want my children to choose these jobs. Even there is no discrimination, I still prefer my children to earn money through professional knowledge or technology rather than labour.

Mother from family Liang shared similar thinking. She considered the different situations for long-time career development comparing labour jobs with doing other professional jobs:

To be honest, I don't want my son to do labour jobs. I know doing labour job can make a fair bit of money. But the problem is how long people can do this kind of job for living? What if they are no longer physical capable to do a labour job? For knowledge or technology based occupations, the longer you are in the industry, the more experience you have, the more valuable you will become in your field. I don't think it works the same way for labour jobs.

For some parents, their strong determination came from their own experience of growing up with a humble background, and the change they experienced in their lives as a result of education. Parents believed it was undoubtedly that there was a big difference in terms of people's life quality when they had better educational background or not.

All parents told of how they preferred their children to learn something "useful" in university. By "useful," they meant the major should have the bright job market to guarantee a job with decent pay after graduation. Chinese immigrant parents' preference of major all clustered in a few certain majors like engineering, computer science, medicine related majors, and finance or business management. Most Chinese immigrant parents believed being pragmatic was both a compromise and a survival strategy. Some immigrant parents themselves had experienced a difficult process of looking for jobs, which strengthened their idea of being practical on choosing a major in university. It seemed that going into the fields of natural science, engineering, and computer science functioned well as a strategy for Chinese immigrant students' achievement in Canadian universities, which also contributed to build the "model minority" image of Asian students in North America. But not all Chinese immigrant students were necessarily talented in natural science or even interested in it. It was found that the decision-making

process of Chinese parents and students regarding university major was complex with conflicts and negotiations, involving the social structure and specific family context as well. For example, the mother from family Wei said:

I don't have enough knowledge about the Canadian society. I just have a very simple idea: my children have to choose some practical majors that can teach them knowledge and technology in professional fields. I prefer my son to choose majors relevant to engineering or economics. For my daughter, I prefer her to choose medical related majors, either nurse or doctor, of course, doctor would be better. I am practical about choosing majors for my children. The least favourite majors for my children will be arts or humanity majors, which are not helpful for them to find a job after graduation. I won't support them to choose majors without a promising job market. I also have a practical idea about choosing universities. If there are two options: going to a top university to study a major with limited job opportunities or going to a normal university to study a popular major with many potential job opportunities, I will definitely support my children to go for the second option.

The mother from family Feng brought an interesting opinion that she believed students who chose to study art might because they had trouble in studies. So studying art would be easier for them and improve their chances to get into university:

Engineering is a good match for my son. Although my husband and I are doing the medical related jobs, I don't think medicine is a good option for my son because he is not patient and attentive enough. I know most Chinese immigrant students usually choose to study engineering, medicine, accounting, and applied science majors, rather than literature or art. I think it is natural for children to choose the former majors if they have been always doing well in school. For some students who are not so good at study, then they may choose art to ensure a bigger chance to get into university.

She also expressed her strong intention to be involved in her son's career choice. She claimed that teenagers did not necessarily know what they want to do, so parents' guidance in decision making was crucial for children's future success:

I am quite realistic and practical about my son's career choice. I will let him know about the disadvantages of certain majors with bleak career opportunities. Worse comes to worst, if my son would not like to go to university or he fails in

applying for university. It is acceptable if he goes to college as long as he can find a suitable major in college. The most important thing is he has to learn something practical. I believe life would not be too tough for him if he can find a job using his technology, for example being a technician like an electrician or plumber, which is not necessary my highest expectation for him, or he can open his own business. Our family is middle class family in Canada. I won't expect my son to become elite who has good career and lives very good life in the future. My expectation for my son is to live better life than us or live the similar life like us.

Some parents gave their children advice based on their own work experiences in Canada. They had good knowledge about the wage level and employment situation in certain fields. They wanted their children to work in the similar fields like other family members rather than to take any risk to try other fields. For example, the mother from family Chen said:

My husband suggested my son to choose electrical engineering as major in university. My husband is working in the college of engineering in university, so he knows about the job market for students in engineering. It is easy for the students in engineering to find jobs, and the salary is also pretty high. I personally think that if my son can take the academic path, becoming a researcher just like his father, will be quite good. It is a stable job and the working environment in the university is good too.

The mother from family Liang suggested her son to study business management because there was a tradition in this family to do business like running restaurant or import and export trade:

I prefer my son to choose business management relevant majors because my husband is a businessman and we own family business in China. It will be good if my son can take over the family business after he gets a degree in business management. I try to train him to develop more interest in dealing with business. For example, I will ask about his opinions when I need to make some decisions for our family business. By doing this, I want to let him feel I value his opinions, and I also want to see whether or not he has the potential to be a good businessman.

From above examples, it was obvious that Chinese immigrant parents showed their high loyalty to the traditional popular majors and career choices among Chinese immigrant families: engineering, computer science, nursing, medicine, economics, business management, and other natural and applied sciences. However, there was a sign of change among some early Chinese immigrant parents who had been living in Canada for over fifteen years. They were not as aggressive and goal-oriented as new Chinese immigrant parents regarding their children's major and career choice. They encouraged their children to pursue the careers normally not favoured by Chinese immigrants, such as community facility design, teacher, and librarian. They also gave more freedom to their children to explore their own passion for future career. This change seemed to connect with parents' involvement in and better knowledge about Canadian society. For example, the mother from family Guo supported her daughter to pursue a career in community facility design or physical education:

I think community facility design and physical education are meaningful and rewarding careers considering more and more people are working in cities and need to release their pressure from their jobs. Facility program can improve the life quality for so many people nowadays. I think it is important to have a group of professional people to design the facility for communities and promote the healthy life style in the city. My daughter has good potential to become a facility program designer in the future because she has been skating and dancing for many years. She has good knowledge about what could be improved for the community since she has been using most of the community facility for children for so many years.

She continued to explain how she came up with this career choice for her daughter:

I realize this kind of job is important based on my own experience of living in Canada. I mentioned earlier, I had no idea about the facilities in Canada during the first few years living here. So I did not arrange any after school activities for my son when he went to elementary school. I did a much better job in helping my daughter attend different activities after I got to know more about this society. Further, my colleagues' life attitude and life style offered positive influences on

me. For example, all of my colleagues who are local Canadian people, live quite enriched lives when they off work. They enjoy different sports like curling and badminton, going fishing, doing yoga, camping, etc. I learned a lot from them. I would love to see my daughter pursue a career contributing to community facility design and development. Or she can teach figure skating or dancing as a physical education teacher.

Since some early Chinese immigrant parents had built solid foundation for the next generation, they were free of planning their children's future out of practical or surviving perspective. Their value orientation regarding children's education was switching from emphasizing instrumental function of education to self-realization purpose. The mother from family Wu wanted her daughter to live their life to fullest and pursue the careers their hearts were longing for, at the same time make contribution to the society through their work:

I don't want to set many rules when it comes to my daughters' future career. Education can help my daughters to explore themselves. I don't want to restrict my educational expectations for my daughters by certain rules or in specific forms. It is more meaningful for me to have expectations for my children on the quality of their lives in a general sense. In my mind, the ideal life for them will be to live the most of their life by: finding where their passions lie, and going for them; by working on a job that their hearts long for, and the job itself is meaningful for the society; having sound judgment of matters around, and being strong enough to face life challenges; spending life with their true love and building up their own happy families; being economically independent.

Although these early Chinese immigrant parents expressed their supportive approach regarding children's career choice, they were confident the way they raised their children and the social surrounding around their families most likely would lead their children to hold high expectations for themselves and pursue traditional high ranking occupations. Besides, parents' democratic approach regarding children's career choice did not mean that they would let children figure out their future career all by

themselves. Parents provided a variety of opportunities for children to explore their interest in different fields through registering them in different kinds of after-school activities. By doing so, parents observed what their children liked, what they were good at, where their potentials lie, and what career would best match their personalities. For example, the mother from family Wu found her older daughter could be a good teacher because she had a big heart, and her second daughter could be a good librarian because she really enjoyed reading and also had talent in writing. For this mother, the definition of “useful major” had more meanings, which were not only about whether the major can guarantee a future job for her children, it also meant her daughters’ future careers should contribute to society and match with their interests and passions.

Children’s Voice

Chinese immigrant students were living in parents’ value orientation regarding education. Some Chinese immigrant students had not really thought about what education means to their lives. They just did whatever their parents asked them to do. Some Chinese immigrant students gave more thought about their future career and lives. They developed more self-reflection regarding their education rather than passively followed their parents’ plans. Generally speaking, Chinese immigrant children’s thinking about the role of education in their lives was strongly influenced by their parents because their parents were highly involved in and responsible for decision making. It was not easy for Chinese immigrant children to get away with their parents’ expectations too much.

Chinese culture traditionally has been considered to be collectivistic in nature. Chinese culture emphasizes parents’ love and support to children and children’s respect and filial piety to parents. Parents and children have mutual responsibility to each other.

Children are expected to respect and adapt themselves to the expectations from their parents and contribute to and bring honour to their families. Children's socialization is influenced by Chinese values about family and the culturally defined relationship between parents and children. Chinese children get more extrinsic motivation from the family, school, society, which plays a significant role in their studying. In collectivism culture, Chinese students are more attentive and sensitive to others' thoughts, feelings, and actions. They have the sense of duty and obligation to their families, which sometimes will take precedence over their self-gratification.

“Continuing education is a natural thing for me.”

Most Chinese immigrant students felt it was a natural process for them to continue education after high school, and then continue Master's study after their undergraduate study. They did not think about there was anything to be doubted about. Very few of them considered going for work after high school since they had many classmates choosing to do so. However, none of them really did so because their parents would not approve this idea. For example, the son from family Dai said:

When I finished my high school study, most of my classmates went for work. Some of them became machinery workers, some of them became truck drivers, and some of them worked in the mining industry. I was thinking whether I could also do this because it would be fun to live independently and make my own money. Besides, I did not really enjoy studying at school. But I knew there was no way my parents would allow me to do so. I mentioned this to them a few times. Their reaction was exactly like what I expected. So I went to college then transferred to university. At that time, I did not know why other students can do so, but I cannot. It did not bother me too much. It just made me go through another route in my life, which was different from my high school friends' life track.

The daughter from family Xie told that her father did not support her plan of looking for job or going to college because he worried about the comments from other Chinese people:

It was my last year in high school when we moved to Canada. The first thing for me to do in Canada was to apply for university. I am currently preparing for the English exam and application documents. Personally I don't mind to work for a few years then go back to school. Or I can register courses in a vocational school to get a certificate or diploma, which was more useful for me to find a job than a fancy degree. I prefer to learn stuff through practice rather than books. I don't like to learn theoretical knowledge. So I think college or vocational school will be more suitable for me. My father disagreed. He wanted me to at least get a degree from university. He also made the comment that if his friends back in China hear about I am not going to university in Canada. They will think my father is not responsible for my future. My father also said that a degree will save me some trouble in the future when I need to find my future husband. If I date Asian people, especially Chinese people, without a degree, his family will look down on me or question about what cause me to fail school.

Growing up in Chinese family, understanding Chinese culture tradition in emphasizing education, Chinese immigrant children had been receiving parents' value orientation regarding education when they could remember. For most of them, continuing education was something that they did not need to question. The differences among Chinese immigrant students were their self-motivation and self-reflection. Although most of them went down the same route in pursuing education, their thinking about the role of education in their life varied.

“My parents told me I can have everything if I do well in Education.”

Chinese immigrant parents kept their confidence and optimistic thinking about what education could bring to their children's lives. So they passed on the idea to their children that education can change people's life and bring success. Okagaki (2001) said when education serves a relevant, pragmatic function in an individual's life, it appears

that the individual is more likely to be motivated to do well in school. Chinese immigrant students described their parents always told them that their all-time priority was studying. Parents pictured a glamorous future for them telling that they can have everything if they can succeed in education. Some children mentioned that parents sometimes hurt their feelings by criticising or punishing them if they did not do well in school. The son from family Dai spoke that he had been growing up with parents' lecturing about his future life was dependent on his performance in education:

When I was young, my parents told me the only thing I need to worry about was my studies. I like to play with my friends. I like cars. I like to watch TV. My parents said I can have as many fancy cars as I like, and travel the world, enjoy my life, and have fun with my friends, or spend the whole day watching TV after I graduate from university and find a good job. So they told me that I have to study hard and save the pleasure for later when I grow up. They also told me if I don't study now, I will have nothing. Nobody would help me. I won't have a future, not to mention enjoy my life.

He continued to say that the glamorous life his parents pictured for him never existed in reality. At least he did not feel that way after he achieved high level in education:

I remember what my parents told me. I studied hard and waited for living a fancy life after I achieve high academically. I had lived as a normal graduate student with limited financial support for many years before I graduated from my PhD program two years ago. Do I get everything? No. I have a busy work schedule; live in a rented apartment; try to save money for my first house. I did not date any girl until lately. It seems like my friends from high school who went for work earlier than me are currently living much better lives than me. They started their families and bought their first houses much earlier than me. Yes, they did not achieve as high as I did in education. But I cannot see that my life is anything better than theirs. Sometimes, I feel jealous about them. Life is short. It seems their lives are more enjoyable. I am also wondering what if I did not go to graduate school, should I feel regret or life would still be good for me?

Chinese immigrant parents might exaggerate about what education could bring to their children's future success to motivate their children. Growing up in Canada, more and more Chinese immigrant children started to develop their own thinking about what they intended to get from education. Some of them regarded education as a way to enrich their experience and develop themselves; some of them regarded education as a stepping stone to realize their dreams; some of them intended to finish education as a task to fulfill the minimum request from their parents.

“I need to be happy with what I am learning.”

As a Chinese immigrant child who came to Canada at the age of four, the son from family Xie had been receiving education in Canadian schools and growing up in both Chinese culture and Western culture. His thinking was quite Chinese in some ways and quite Western in other ways. He understood he should respect parents and keep strong bonding with family members, which are valued by Chinese culture. At the same time, his expectation for future life leaned towards living a happy life instead of overemphasizing material factors. So he tried to balance between choosing something he really enjoy learning and making a living through it:

I think being happy about what I will do is more important than how much money I will make. For example, if I become a lawyer, of course I can make much money, however, I don't think I will be very happy. If I do something I really like, maybe I won't make big money, but I think that will make me much happier. Compared to whether I am happy in my life, whether I can become middle class or make lots of money are not so important. I would rather to choose a happy life over a rich life if I cannot get both. Of course, my family is the most important thing to me, my happiness comes second, then my degree and career, the last thing I worry about is how much money I will make. I believe as long as I can support myself financially through my job, I should be fine.

He explained why he would chose to learn computer science, the similar major like his mother's. It was because his family resources provided the channel for him to have better knowledge in this field. Also he developed interest in it. It was a natural process for him:

I want to learn Computer hardware engineering when I go to university. Last year, I bought different parts of a computer module online, and then assembled my first computer. I found that installing a computer has so much fun. My mom is working as a computer software engineer. I learned some knowledge through her work. She does not need to do much related to hardware, just sitting in her office dealing with software data. I prefer to learn computer hardware because I like hands-on stuff. I really enjoy making things by myself.

Chinese immigrant students made plans quite early for their university studies. They had their list of preferred majors in universities and even future career goals shortly after they went to high school. How they decided on what major they wanted to study and what kind of career they would like to pursue was a process of discussion and negotiation between them and their parents. For example, the daughter from family Hu explained why she chose to learn environmental science:

Initially I planned to study history in university because I have always been interested in history. But my interest is just interest. I need to consider the job market and potential cost and benefit to choose this major. I knew that I would have very limited career choice if I study history. I may become history teacher. Obviously my parents didn't support me choosing this major. They preferred me to study natural science to ensure a secure career with decent salary. So I searched for other options. I watched a movie named '*The day after tomorrow*'. It showed that pollution has become a big problem to the nature and our living environment. I thought maybe studying environmental science could be a good choice for me. Because this major has good job market and is meaningful for improving the environment.

She mentioned that most of her Chinese friends had chosen engineering, business, and medicine as their majors in universities; a few of them with good family financial background were learning photography and TV production.

Summary and Discussion

Chinese immigrant parents believed that education could bring a better future for their children. They claimed it was their responsibility to make sure their children receive a good education. They wanted their children to be happy and live easy and comfortable lives. They preferred their children to live on their professional knowledge and technology rather than labour. They emphasized the financial and social status rewards from their children's future occupations. Chinese immigrant parents had a sense of crisis that their children would not be at an advantage position to find jobs in Canadian society, so they were motivated to help their children achieve high academically to make up for the disadvantage situation. They believed that their children should get into a higher ladder of social status in order to avoid the potential discrimination and racism. Chinese immigrant parents' specific educational expectations for their children were high and realistic considering their immigrant status and their perception about their lives in Canada. Parents expected their children to at least have a degree from university. As for future career plans, parents preferred their children to learn natural and applied science relevant majors or medicine relevant majors. Parents believed these majors were more efficient and suitable for their children to secure a good life in Canada. Parents showed confidence about their children's potential to fulfill their expectations given the less competitive educational environment and more educational resources in Canada.

It was indicated, the longer Chinese immigrant parents had been living in Canada or the more they had been exposed to Canadian society, the less demanding and more supportive they would become regarding their children's educational issues. Socioeconomic status was another factor causing difference of Chinese immigrant parents' attitude and practice regarding their children's education. For example, some early Chinese immigrant parents were free of planning their children's future out of a practical or surviving perspective since they had already accumulated enough social resources and had settled lives in Canada. Besides, they had better knowledge about Canadian society and did not focus on the limited career options that were popular among Chinese immigrants. They gave more freedom to children to explore their passion for future careers. Although they expressed their supportive attitude towards children's educational choices, they were confident about the way they raised their children and the social surrounding their families were in most likely would lead to their children having a high educational expectations for themselves. They still kept playing important roles in guiding children's career choice by providing resources and opportunities for children to explore their interests.

Chinese immigrant children need to balance their cultural traditions of family responsibilities with their desires to pursue their own passions or be a normal teenager in Canada. Studying hard and doing well in school have always been considered family obligations of Chinese children, and a high level of achievement is considered to be a success for the whole family as well as the individual student (Chao, 2000). The strong bonding among family members and parental authority emphasized in Chinese culture enhanced Chinese immigrant parents' ability to influence their children's attitude and

value towards education. On one hand, children tried to strike a balance between two worlds at home and at school, which were governed by two set of values; on the other hand, children would be unlikely to resist the influence and guidance from parents. Most Chinese immigrant students were motivated to fulfill their parents' educational expectations for them despite there were some disagreements need to be worked on. It seemed like Chinese immigrant students were striving to achieve the goals of their parents, at the same time, to add their own goals given the interdependent relationship between them and their parents.

The fact that living up to parents' expectations and socializing with peers were negatively associated on a daily basis for most Chinese immigrant students. For recent immigrant teenagers, they went through the whole transition life with their parents. They emotionally attached with their parents more regarding building the foundation of their new lives in Canada. So they tended to be more practical on their choice of major and more obedient to their parents also. As Hirschman and Wong (1986) suggested, long-distance migration, which costs the immigrants physically, financially and psychologically, facilitates breaking of past ties with the old country, which, in turn, creates high achievement in the immigrant generation in the new country. It was predictable that most new immigrant teenage students would enter the more practical fields of computer science or engineering because their achievements in these fields were more visible. For children in early immigrant families who were growing up in Canada, self-realization was as important as being practical. Without living through the tough years of immigration with their parents, without the schooling experience in China, although they seemed to accept the values of their parents most of the time, they did not

totally internalize the practical strategy. Some of them started to search for a higher level of meaning in life without much constraints due to the eager of building foundation for a settled life. When parents tried to pave the way for them, some of them would reject to listen to their parents or follow their parents' plans.

Chinese Immigrant Parents' Parenting: Training

Previous data analysis found that Chinese immigrant parents and their children shared similar educational expectations with minor differences. How do they plan to fulfill the expectations in their daily life? In the cases of Chinese immigrant families, parents' parenting and involvement played a critical role in their children's academic achievement given the parents' authoritative role in the family. Chinese immigrant parents' parenting was reflected through their parenting style and parenting practice. Parenting style is "a constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and that, taken together, create an emotional climate in which the parent's behaviours are expressed" (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p. 488). Parenting practice was the educational strategies and plans applied to facilitate children's schooling to fulfill the goals.

Chinese parenting was believed to fall into Baumrind's (1971) authoritarian parenting because Chinese parenting was characterised by controlling and rejecting. Chao (1994) discussed parenting in a cultural specific framework, proposed an alternative way to describe Chinese parenting: "training". The concept of training "involves training children early to be self-disciplined and hard-working, and providing children with a familial investment, concern, and support" (Chao, 1996, p. 3), which was rooted in

traditional Chinese culture because culture shaped what parents believed and what practices they socialized their children into for academic achievement (Oches & Schieffelin, 1984).

The participating Chinese immigrant parents' parenting matched the core principles of "training". Chinese immigrant parents' parenting was unique because it was different from Chinese parents' parenting in China and was different from Canadian parents' parenting as well. Chinese immigrant parents experienced the cultural change and faced greater diversity in the factors that influenced their parenting as they needed to balance their existing parenting ideas and practices with new parenting styles and corresponding strategies that were introduced following immigration.

Parents' Voice

All the participating Chinese immigrant parents shared the core elements of "training". Parents' training of their children were showed in specific ways in different families. Family background, parents' life experiences and perceptions, children's personalities and interaction with parents, and parents' knowledge about Candian society, all affected parents' training on their children. The ideal situation for parents was that their children shared the similar educational expectations and committed to devote hard work in learning. Parents were goal-oriented and future-oriented. They were prepared to invest a great deal of time, effort, and money in supporting their children, and intended to avoid any potential unrewarding or punishing outcomes. However, parents could not train their children exactly the way they preferred because children would make self-evaluations matching personal standards, give direction to their pursuits, and create self-incentives to sustain their efforts for goal attainment. Children would do things that give

them self-satisfaction and a sense of pride and self-worth. Generally speaking, Chinese immigrant parents placed a great value on education and tried to instil this value in their children at an early age. But the realization of the educational expectations requires more than an intentional state because it is not causally sufficient by itself. So parents provided a good learning environment at home and applied either direct or indirect intervention approach to supervise their children's learning.

Transferring the value orientation of education in subtle ways.

Chinese immigrant parents indicated that there was a big change in their ways of communicating with children and how they were involved in their children's education because of the different social culture and educational philosophy in Canada. Chinese immigrant children went to Canadian schools and were receiving a Western education, which was different from their family education. It would lead to conflicts between parents and children if parents won't adjust their parenting to shorten the gap with the Western educational style in school. In order to continue being a big influence in children's education, Chinese immigrant parents began to change the way of communicating with their children at home. They tended to teach their children values in subtle ways through specific incidences in daily life rather than to directly request children what to do and what not to do.

Most Chinese parents understood that if they imposed their expectations on their children, it would be hard for their children to accept and be cooperative. One parent explained: "It is hard for the car to move forward if I am the only person who push the car, my son just sit there refusing to put his feet on the gas pedal, or put his feet on the brake." She used this metaphor to illustrate that only when the children realized the

importance of education and had the determination to put efforts into their studies, can they live up to parents' educational expectations. No matter how hard the parents tried to help the children, it would not work if the children did not have the same values toward education. Parents' specific strategies of transferring the value orientation of education include: set good examples for children, let the children see and feel by themselves, and frequent questioning and communication. Parents tried to help their children develop a sense of purpose in studying, hoping their children would have the driving force for success in academic work. If their children had a positive interpretation of the potential education opportunities and future career prospects, they would develop higher educational expectations for themselves and make more efforts to achieve them.

Set good examples for children.

As discussed in the topic of role model and peer influence, Chinese immigrant parents often compare their children with other children regarding their school achievements. Parents wanted to bring positive influence to their children by setting good examples for their children. Most of time parents would get the resistant feedback from their children because Canadian parents seldom compare their children with others. However, even some Chinese parents tried to hold back. They cannot help using other immigrant students' successful stories to encourage their children to put more efforts into their studies. In some cases, siblings' success could bring a big influence on children's motivation on their studies. For example, the mother from family Guo said:

My daughter said she wanted to have better career and achieve more in her life than her brother, who is working in the United States after graduating from University of Waterloo in computer science. She said many times that she will go to a better university, and she will get a better job than her brother did. I am happy to hear this. Her brother is a good example to motivate her.

Most Chinese immigrant parents' social circle was limited to Chinese immigrant community. Children's education in Canada was always an important topic among them. Chinese immigrant students would also have opportunities to make friends with other Chinese immigrant students either in school or through their parents' relationships. It was inevitable for Chinese immigrant students to be compared regarding their school performance either by their parents or unconsciously by themselves. Chinese immigrant students usually felt more attached by the good examples set by students from the same cultural background even though they may get annoyed sometimes when parents kept comparing them with other Chinese students.

Let the children see and feel by themselves.

Some Chinese immigrant parents did not worry about whether or not there would be a big difference between their own expectations and their children's expectations. They were confident that their children would make the right decisions on their education and future career. Because their family backgrounds decided their children can see and feel what life they were living. Parents' friends and social resources also imperceptibly influenced how the children pictured their future life. For example, the mother from family Guo said:

In daily life, I let my daughter learn about what life we are living. For example, what kind of house we are living in, what kind of houses our friends are living in. My daughter also saw some of her classmates living in a trailer. What are the levels of living standards our family and my friends' families have. What are the qualities of our life compared with other people's life? How do we spend money? What can we afford? I want my daughter to understand that financial foundation is important. Although I don't totally agree with that high salary equals happy life. Still financial foundation is important for people's life. I want my daughter to realize this, and then set her goals in life. I think it works on my daughter, for example, she sees and understands what social status we have, it helps to frame

her goal for future life. She is a confident girl. I find sometimes her thinking is mature. I don't think she has lower expectations than my expectations for her because the way she was raised and the surrounding social resources would lead her to set high goals in her life.

Parents also gave their children the opportunities to try different part-time jobs, letting their children experience and figure out their future plans. For example, the mother from family Chen said:

My son understands why education is important to him through his own experiences. For example, he realized that doing labour jobs was very tiring and the pay was low when working for a restaurant last summer. Sometimes he would share with me his experiences of attending his friends' home party. He talked about how beautiful his friend's house was. Some of his friends could go abroad to have family trips every year. Whenever he brought these up, I took the chance to motivate him to study harder. Of course everyone wants to live a good life, but not everyone can. For immigrant children, high educational achievement will be the most efficient way to ensure a better future. He also saw how we struggled in life during the first few years living here. Without a degree from Canadian university and working experience in this country, life was always tough for immigrants.

She continued to give more examples how she took every chance to help her son understand the importance of education:

Sometimes I showed the bills to my son, asking him does he want to live a life making the minimum wage. If he only earn minimum wage, after paying these bills, he cannot afford to buy a car, or a house, he can only make ends meet every month. If he just wants to live such a life, he doesn't need higher education then. But if he wants to have a better life, he has to study hard. Education is the investment for his future. If he studies hard now, he will receive rewards later.

Chinese immigrant parents took every opportunity to lead their children to realize the importance of doing well in school and how education could bring a promising future for them through the daily reminders.

Frequent questioning and communication.

Chinese immigrant parents understood that their children's schooling in Canada was more liberal and student-centered, which was different from the educational system in China. This educational philosophy encouraged students to be more independent and critically thinking. Peer influence also had important effect on Chinese immigrant children's thinking and behaviour. Parents believed that communicating with children in a softer way could make their children accept their ideas easier than planning out everything for the children. Thus, Chinese immigrant parents tended to communicate and ask many questions in daily life to get the children to express their opinions, then made some compromise if it was beneficial for the relationship between parents and children. Parents also expressed that communicating worked better than forcing to help their children live up to their expectations in a long run. Parents also constantly reminded their children of the potential bad consequences if they failed in school.

The mother from family Feng spent a lot of time taking care of her two sons despite her busy schedule working in the hospital as a nurse. Her younger son was seven years old, and went to a private school. Her older son was in Grade 9. The interviews were more focused on her older son who was about to enter high school. Her older son was intelligent, but did not put enough efforts into his studies. This mother's biggest headache was how to make her older son spend more time studying. Otherwise, she thought her son was wasting his potential. She said:

My older son is a smart and confident boy. He has been living in Canada since he was four years old. So he is growing up in Western educational system. He has his own thoughts. He doesn't always listen to me. I don't think he will do the things exactly the way I want him to do. When I try to request or suggest him to do something, especially on schoolwork. He usually replies to me with 'don't worry about my study', 'don't try to plan out my future', 'this is my life'. So I

cannot behave like typical Chinese parent. I have to change because I know that the old ways would not work on him.

Despite the boy's strong personality and desire for independence, this mother never gave up on taking any opportunity to communicate with him because she believed no matter how rebellious her son behaved; her words would still bring positive influence on her son when he had to make big decisions. She said:

When we cannot agree with each other on certain things, usually I prefer to communicate with my son with patience. Maybe it won't work every time, but I will keep trying. I hope he can understand what my opinions are and I want to know more about his thoughts from his perspective instead of forcing him to do something. I believe this is more constructive way to understand him more. I respect some of his decisions. For example, I agreed with him when he decided to drop out from the advanced class. During summer time, when I plan to register some football or basketball training and games for him, I always ask about his ideas to make sure he would like to do so.

The mother from family Wu shared the similar comments saying:

My daughters are teenager girls. I don't think they will do whatever I say. If I force them to do something, they will think that I behave like typical Chinese parent. I have been trying to make some changes in my parenting. For example, I try to hold it back and let them learn from mistakes rather than to provide everything for them or guide them on everything.

The purpose for Chinese immigrant parents to question and communicate with their children was to make sure their children's study was on the right track and their children could make the right decisions. Parents thought it was not wise to give their children total freedom because they were not mature enough to have the good judgment and make right choice. Parents also mentioned that if they did not raise their voice when children were young, it would be hard for children to take parents' advice when children got older. For example, the mother from family Feng said:

Teenagers don't really understand what they want in their lives. At this stage, parental guidance is important for their future development. I provided

suggestions at the same time learned more about my son's own ideas. I tried to strike a balance between my expectations and his preference and interest. I would ask about his future plan when we have dinner and give some suggestions. He has not yet had clear idea about his future. He did not oppose my suggestion either, which was a good sign. I feel like he might not take all of my suggestions, but at least he will understand that I just want the best for him. I believe he will be willing to take my suggestions into consideration when he needs to make any big decision in his education. He will consider: why his mom would like him to choose certain majors to study, guess these majors must not be too bad.

Most Chinese immigrant parents explained their modified ways of communicating with their children hoping their children could listen to their advice more. Different from these families, the parents of family Wei tended to train their children in a more demanding and strict way. They had been living in Canada for longer than two years. The mother was taking care of the children and monitoring their studies. Her husband was still working in China and planned to unite with his family later. This mother put enormous emphasis on children's education and applied strict rules on training her children to be self-disciplined and to concentrate on their studies. She said:

My husband and I spent a lot of time lecturing my children. The most important thing in their lives currently is to study. Any other things are secondary. We are immigrants. We don't have as many opportunities as local Canadian people. I don't care so much about my own tough situation. My children's future is the priority. The educational system in Canada is not as competitive as in China. I am confident that my children can go to a top university in Canada or in America as long as they are diligent on studying like when they were in China. Of course, they can have more spare time because the schoolwork here is much less and the pressure from school is lot smaller. However, I will not allow my children to become lazy. Education is important no matter where they are living.

This mother set a strict daily schedule for her son and daughter to ensure they could finish a certain amount of study at home, in addition to the homework from school. From Monday to Friday, the only free time for the children was from 3:30 pm when they

got back from school to supper time, which was around 5:30 pm. They had to go back to their rooms to study until ten o'clock before they went to bed.

The children in this family could follow this routine most of the time, but sometimes they did not want to keep studying at home after spending the whole day in school. There were conflicts between the mother and her children especially with her son. The mother expressed how sad and guilty she felt every time her children disobeyed her. She took her children's disobedient behaviour as her fault. She said, "I am not a good mother. I am not successful in educating my children. If I did a good job to educate them, they should be well-behaved and self-motivated. Why they didn't listen to me and even hate me?" There were many times she cried because she felt so sad and helpless to deal with children's rebellious behaviours. The last way to get her children to follow her rules was to let her husband talk with their children on the phone or through video chat because her husband had more authority to their children.

Family Wei's story showed the typical Chinese parenting when it comes to children's education. The mother had strong determination to adhere to the strict parenting practices because she gave up everything in China and moved to Canada. Besides, she had to take full responsibility for her children's schoolwork since her husband was still in China.

Developing good habits and good qualities.

Chinese immigrant parents emphasized the importance of training children to develop good study habits like time management, self-motivated learning, goal oriented, diligent, work ethics, and reading. They paid particular attention to train their children from a young age because they believed the earlier the better to foster children's study

habits. Parents also provided good learning environment with lots of resources at home. Like Teachman (1987) said, the availability of home resources presence such as books, a home computer, or newspapers can help to create an environment conducive to studying by displaying a positive orientation toward schooling. As mentioned in previous discussion, there was an ideal child image in Chinese parents' mind, who was both a high achiever in academics and well-behaved. Chinese immigrant parents wanted their children to do well in school and be a good person in general. When it came to children's moral development and personality qualities, parents were more sensitive and demanding.

The mother in family Wei was a traditional Chinese wife and mother. Different from other parents in this research, who claimed that they would not force children to do anything, she had clear rules for her children to follow. She grew up in countryside of China. She worked in Beijing as a nurse for many years before moving to Canada. She had strong faith in: "Education can change people's destination." With this philosophy, she contributed everything she could to train her children to build up good study habits on a daily basis. She said:

I always tell my children that they should manage their time wisely. It is unacceptable for them to waste time. I have to supervise them to make sure that they spend enough time on their studies. I don't want my children or myself to feel regret later thinking 'they should have done better when they were young.' I don't want there is a big difference regarding the intensity of my children's study after we moved to Canada. Providing a new educational environment for my children was the motivation of immigrating to Canada because I don't want my children to go through many years' strict and highly competitive schooling system in China. However, I still want my children to take their own initiative to continue studying hard without the external pressure in Canadian educational system. They have to be successful in Canada. I don't want the new environment make my children become lazy.

This mother believed that laziness and carelessness were to blame for the low grades. She wanted her children to concentrate on the important things to attain long-term goals. She also told her two children to mutually supervise each other, whether they followed the rules and stayed in their rooms to study rather than to play computer games or read comic books. Sometimes the two children would tell on each other to their mother and behaved rude to each other. The mother also cut her children's entertainment activities as much as she could. For example, she barely turned on the TV except for half an hour's local news sometimes because her children had a tight schedule for study and other talent training courses like practising piano, violin, and swimming. She believed that too much entertainment and relaxing time would distract children from studying, and then children would want more and more time playing. It would be hard to drag children back to study. She commented that Canadian parents were too lenient with their children. She believed parental watchfulness and involvement in their children's daily activities were important for children's future success.

Chinese immigrant parents wanted their children to be self-disciplined, be positive, be caring about others, with good manners, have a big heart, and have good judgement, etc. For example, the mother from family Wu said:

I have some moral requirements for my children. First, they need to be respectful and polite to parents, parents' friends, siblings, their friends' parents, etc. It is unacceptable if they have a bad attitude towards parents. Sometimes my husband or I will make mistakes and say something that we don't mean it. In this situation, my daughters still need to keep good manners in front of us. Second, I do not allow my daughters to discuss about other people behind their backs or gossip around about other people. Third, I tell my daughters to be a critical thinker instead of believing everything said by teachers. Fourth, it is undeniable that race discrimination still exists. We as immigrants cannot control how other people think about us. I want my daughters to be independent and have high self-esteem. Fifth, I hope my daughters can understand that no pain no gain. They should not

count on luck to bring anything to them without their own efforts. Sixth, I have told my daughters that they do not need to compare themselves with other students on studying. So they don't need to feel upset if they are not the top students since we never push them to be. My two daughters are very well-behaved. In a peer assessment among classmates, one of my daughters was the only student in the whole class who got zero negative comment from classmates. It is because she is loyal to friends and never talks behind anybody's back. I am so proud of her.

The mother from family Guo shared the similar value that her children should develop good qualities like having a kind heart and helping others:

I want my children to have a good heart and care about other people. For example, if someone is in need of help, they should be willing to provide help. When some people need to be encouraged to accomplish something, my children should be able to encourage them. My daughter has a friend whose math is not so good. My daughter told her that if she can get 90 in the math test, then she would get a gift from my daughter. This girl did get higher than 90 in the last math test, so my daughter brought some cakes for her. This kind of emotional support and encouragement among peers is so important.

She also said that being positive and open-minded was important for her children to handle the challenges in life:

My children should be willing to share their thoughts with family members, especially when they are not so happy or have negative thoughts. It is important to find an exit rather than hold it back. My son already grows up. I want my daughter to have a correct understanding about herself rather than take other people's comments so seriously. As long as she is happy and turns out to be the best person she could be; I will be grateful.

All the participating Chinese immigrant parents emphasized cultivating their children's reading habits. Some parents went to library every week to borrow books for their children. Some parents wanted their children to read more books to improve English. Some parents wanted their children to get more knowledge and enrich their mind through reading books. For example, the mother from family Wu said:

When I was young, my parents could not provide what I am providing for my daughters now. I did not have the opportunity to explore what I really like. So when my elementary school teacher asked me what my dream was, I had no idea. The answer I could give was something like being a soldier to protect my country or being a teacher to help society have more educated people. Those were the answers most of my classmates had. It was not necessary for us to really mean it when we said that we wanted to be a soldier or a teacher. It was because we did not know what other options were. Now when I asked my daughters the same question, they had many ideas, such as architects, dentists, bird specialist, etc. They can learn the world and explore their passion by reading.

She continued to explain her ways of training her daughters' reading habits:

Since my daughters were about two or three years old, I made sure that they were always surrounded by books at home. They started to read books by themselves at an early age. Reading books gradually became part of their lives. Weekly library visit is a routine for our family. I also adjusted my way of motivating them in reading based on observations. For example, I thought it would be good for them to focus on reading books of a certain subject each week to gain knowledge in a concentrated way. Unfortunately, after a few months' trial, I realized that I was killing their passions about reading. My current strategy is to give them freedom to choose books as long as the books are on the recommended list and the core meanings of the books are beneficial for them.

This mother believed reading could enrich people's mind and give people the vision. In addition, knowledge from the books could help people build their values. She claimed that how people value the world and themselves and how people judge the right and the wrong were crucial to their lives. She hoped her daughters could stay strong by using knowledge and the right values. She was confident that if her daughters were mentally strong and had good values about their lives, then they would be capable to face the ups and downs and take the challenges in their lives. She believed the knowledge her daughters learned from reading would become the most powerful weapon to protect them since parents could not always be there for them.

Continuous financial and emotional support and actively involvement.

Chinese immigrant parents believed their supports and close involvement in their children's education was crucial to their children's ultimate success. They also agreed that investing and sacrificing for their children's future was necessary. They applied frequent intervention and close supervision to ensure their children kept developing themselves. They hoped to foster emotional closeness and interdependence through the family interactions.

For new immigrant families, their limited interaction with the school and teacher further strengthened their commitment to get involved in their children's schooling. The mother from family Wei gave good examples like buying house in Saskatoon but later moving to Toronto were all based on her determination to support her children's education:

In order to provide a good study environment for my children, my husband and I decided that the first thing we would do was to buy a house in that city wherever we were living in Canada. I don't want to rent place because it cannot provide my children a stable environment feeling like home. Sometimes my children would get a negative influence if we rent a place. For example, when we just got to Canada, we lived in a Chinese immigrant family's house for a little while. Parents in that family were not strict with their children's studies. I personally think they are not responsible parents. Their son spent most time playing computer games. I was not happy to put my children in that living environment for too long because my children would definitely get a negative influence from peers around them. So I bought a house as fast as I could and moved out. Although I bought the house in Saskatoon, I don't mind the trouble to sell it after I made another decision to move to Toronto for the sake of providing a better educational environment for my children. Toronto is a big city. My children will have more choices there. I also believe that going to school in Toronto will give my children the opportunities to set a higher goal in their life.

The interviews with this family were done shortly before they moved from Saskatoon to Toronto. The parents made the decision to move to a bigger city because

they were not satisfied with the school system and educational environment in Saskatoon. The mother had high expectations for the educational system in Canada. Saskatoon was not a metropolis city in Canada. In her opinion, the educational resources found in Saskatoon were not the best in Canada. So she and her husband decided to move to a bigger city like Vancouver or Toronto. Eventually they chose Toronto because they knew some friends there. Their friends spoke highly about the schooling system and educational resources in Toronto.

Parents believed the support and encouragement in parent-child interaction was positively related to their children's learning motivation. The mother of family Liang said:

I understand it is useless to force my son to study. He will most likely push the pressure back when he get older and become more rebellious. I prefer to encourage him rather than to criticize him. I also show him how much I appreciate his intention to work harder. For example, I would take a photo of him studying then send it to his father. He likes to draw. I have kept all of his drawings and framed them. I have not found the perfect way to convince him to put more efforts into study, which has been bothering me a lot. I don't expect he will exactly fulfill my educational expectations for him. However, as long as he can take some of my words seriously and tries harder, I will be happy with that.

All the participating Chinese immigrant parents invested their time and money to support their children to improve themselves on schoolwork and talent training courses. All the children had busy schedules from Monday to Sunday. Parents registered them in various art, music, and sports programs. The most frequent comment from the parents was that "I will support whatever my children are interest in doing as long as I can afford it (financially and time)". For example, the mother from family Guo said:

My daughter has many extracurricular activities. For this semester, on Mondays, she practises ballet, which she started when she was five years old; on Tuesdays, she learns painting; on Wednesdays, she practises skating; on Thursdays, she does

the theater performance; on Fridays, she practises skating again; on Saturdays, she practises ballet again; on Sundays, she practises skating and attends the Chinese folk dance rehearsal. She also attends the routine dancing practice organized by her school every Tuesday and Thursday mornings. She used to learn how to play piano when she was little. She also had been to Chinese language school for a few years. She gave up on learning piano and Chinese because she was not interested and her schedule was too tight. I drive her everywhere every day. I have always been supporting her to pursue her passions, at the same time, tried not to force her to do something she was not interested in.

The mother from family Wu shared the similar opinions. She explained that she provided access for her daughters to search for their passions. She had no intention to train her daughters to achieve big success in art, all she hoped was to help her daughters develop comprehensively and let them explore their potentials:

I am like all other Chinese parents. I try my best to provide learning opportunities for my daughters within my capacity. The arrangements of after school activities for my two daughters are different every term. For this term, my older daughter has drama lessons on Mondays, drawing and piano lessons on Wednesdays, and Guitar lessons on Thursdays. My younger daughter has dance lessons on Mondays, drawing and piano lessons on Wednesdays. They usually both go to gymnastics course on Fridays, but we missed the registration date for this term. On the weekends, except for the routine badminton games with my friends' families on Saturday mornings, they have the freedom to manage their time for Saturday afternoons and Sundays. They used to go to Chinese language school every Saturday afternoon. They dropped out due to the lack of interest. My goal is to train my daughters in many different fields when they are young instead of pushing them to be good at all the things they are learning.

This mother also mentioned that she wanted to raise her daughters in a wealthy way so her daughters would not be distracted by material factors when they grow up:

As an old Chinese proverb goes: 'To raise a son in a rough way; to raise a daughter in a wealthy way.' I try to have my daughters living in an environment not to be heavily influenced by materials. For example, I try to keep our computing/mobile devices up to latest versions within our affordability. I provide them with new bikes and other sports related items before they ask for them. I bought a vintage printer for my second daughter because she enjoys typing her diaries and stories she wrote. I hope in this way my daughters will develop

themselves without distraction from material factors. When they grow up, any decisions they need to make may not be biased by money in this materialized society.

Chinese immigrant parents wanted their children to grow up in a family atmosphere full of parents' unconditional love and support. Parents also hoped that their children could be responsible for taking care of their own families in the future. For example, the mother from family Guo said:

My husband and I try our bests to take care of our children, letting them feel the love and warmth in our family. I don't request them to learn how to do the chores. We prefer to let them have very comfortable life at home. At the same time, we let them know that parents cannot take care of them forever. They have to take care of themselves when they grow up and leave home. We also want them to be responsible to take care of their own families in the future.

The mother from family Wu shared the same feelings:

My home is full of love, which I believe is important for my daughters. For example, if I come home late from work, my girls will hug me for a long time, telling me how much they miss me. I feel I have the whole world when I hug my daughters. We also say I love you to each other many times every day. Expressing how much we love each is so important. However, when I was young, I barely had this kind of intimacy with my parents. This may be due to our Chinese people's conservative personalities. We are not good at expressing our emotions, which is a pity.

Chinese immigrant parents wanted to provide a family environment free of problems, full of love and support. Parents wanted to make sure that their children can develop to their full potential. They provided children financial and emotional support to make sure their children were happy and positive in their pursuit of a better life for themselves.

Children's Voice

Chinese immigrant students expressed their mixed feelings about parents' high expectations and parenting style. On one hand, they knew that parents always wanted the best for them and wanted to help them succeed. On the other hand, they were frustrated about the truth that growing up in a Chinese family meant they had to take parents' words seriously and needed to find a way to balance their own preference and parents' expectations. Phelan et al. (1991) argued that the transitions of moving and adapting from one setting to another frequently required children's efforts and skills because there were different cultural knowledge and behaviour patterns in students' families, peer groups, and schools.

"I know what they want, they don't need to repeat."

Family Wei was a new immigrant family who still kept a typical Chinese family education style. The older son and the younger daughter in this family went to school close to their house. In the interview, the son showed his understanding about his parents' expectations for him and tried to be cooperative as much as he could. But sometimes he felt the lecturing from parents was too much, which annoyed him. He said, "I know what they want, they don't need to repeat":

We are Chinese. The culture influences my parents' expectations. My parents influence my own expectations. One generation influences the next generation. This is natural. I can understand that. So in my family, my parents will set a goal or pave the way for me. My job is to work hard to achieve the goal. It is hard to judge if it is good or not. However we are Chinese, this is what our ancestors left for us. I understand my parents have high educational expectations for me. And I generally agree with them about my future career. But my parents need to trust me and give me more freedom. Don't keep lecturing me about the same thing over and over again. I know what they want.

He had nine years' schooling experiences in China, included six years in elementary school and two years in junior high school. So he had good knowledge about Chinese education system. He felt fortunate to have the opportunity of going to school in Canada. At the same time, he understood that parents' educational expectations for him had never changed. He needed to keep his study routine, even try harder because of the language barriers, in order to live up to his parents' requirements. He said:

I felt big pressure when I was in China because I can barely catch a break because of the big amount of homework and the frequent exams every month, even every week. However, I did not pity myself because every student had to go through this in China. We were all in the same situation. After moving to Canada, of course I feel less pressure, but I have new problem, which is learning English. Thus I feel life is the same for me, anyways, I need to study. Most of the time, I feel okay to follow the schedule my mom set for me. I get used to this new environment pretty well. I can go to sleep around 10:20 in the evening after I finish my study and practise violin. The entertainment activities for me are swimming and playing basketball every week.

He also expressed his frustration and angry when his parents gave some negative comments to him when they thought he did not try hard enough. As a teenage boy, he wanted to have some play time, watch TV, or play computer games. He hated to have arguments with his mother often, he tried to find a way to do whatever his mother wanted him to do but left some space for himself when his mother were busy with other things.

He said:

I don't totally agree with my mom's rules and requirements. Sometimes, after I got back home from school, I felt tired after one day's study in school especially when the courses I took that day were tough. I did not feel like studying immediately after I got back home. While, my mom always push me to study no matter what. If I said I was tired, she would think I was just lazy. I felt upset. I did not want to talk to her and wished her could just leave me alone.

He also talked about his feelings when his parents yelled at him or punished him when he did not strictly follow the tight study schedule set by them:

Sometimes, my parents gave me lots of negative comments like ‘you will be useless if you don’t study hard.’ I am not happy to hear this kind of negative comments thrown to my face. I am more scared of my father than my mom. My father is currently living in China, but he calls me every day to ask about my study. It is annoying.

Under the close supervision of parents, some Chinese children felt that their parents were overprotective of them and did not give them enough freedom to do things they like. So they would prefer to keep some things to themselves in effort to avoid parents’ lecturing. While some children said they did not mind listening to their parents because parents’ strict supervision on their studies was for their own best interests and they can understand that. For example, the daughter from family Li said:

I am the only child in my family. From my point of view, I think my parents’ expectations for me are reasonable. They wanted me to get into any professional school like medicine or pharmacy. I can understand that. Actually these are also my own expectations. I was not positive about the job market after I finished my undergraduate study. So I needed to continue my graduate studies. My education background in undergraduate study naturally led me to the medical related fields. My choice to go for medical studies was not a decision made under my parents’ pressure. It was my own choice. I want to have a good job in the future. I want to help my parents when I have the ability. What I choose to learn and choose to pursue are based on my interest and my own expectations for my future life and what I want to provide for my family.

Family Dai was another traditional Chinese family. Parents in this family applied strict rules on their children in the hope of training them to be self-disciplined and diligent on their schoolwork. Because of their own busy work schedule, they did not have time to really communicate with and understand their children. They just had the simple idea that the only thing their children need to worry about was their studies. The son from family Dai gave examples regarding how different his school life was comparing to his peers:

I was born in Canada. But as early as I can remember, I felt our family was different from my friends' families. For example, my father came to school to pick up my sister and me every afternoon. We had to show up at the school gate on time. If my father did not see us, we would be in trouble. All of my friends stayed at school playing sports for another hour or so before they went back home. But we cannot. I wanted to join the football team at school. My parents did not allow me to. Sometimes I sneaked out to play with my friends. If my parents caught me, I would be beaten. I still vividly remember there were a few times my mom locked me in my room after my father picked me up from school. She left me a food box with a few sandwiches and a kid's plastic toilet. I had to stay in my room for a few hours before they got back from work in the evening. I was pretty scared at the beginning. But I got used to it. So I just took a bite of the sandwich, finished my homework, draw something, and then fell asleep. I just wanted the time to go faster so I can leave my room.

The daughter from family Dai shared some stories regarding how her parents invested so much money and time to train her to become a professional figure skater. However, when she had been practising figure skating for ten years, she made the tough decision to give up because she could not balance figure skating training with schoolwork anymore:

I started to learn figure skating when I was five. My parent paid lots of money on my training. They wanted me to become the next Michelle Kwan (An American figure skater of Chinese descent with a lot of world champion titles). I enjoyed skating at the beginning. I had the opportunities to wear pretty and flashy skating dresses. I had to go training every week. My father would drop my brother and me at the skating place, and then picked us up later. My brother's job was to keep his eyes on me to make sure I practise enough. I attended many competitions and most of the time I got silver or bronze medals. After a few years, when skating practice and competition became a routine for me, I started to lose interest and then finally gave up after ten years of training. I did not really feel regret because skating was not my passion I guess. Another reason was I could no longer handle skating training and schoolwork at the same time. It was a tough decision for my parents too. But they knew that not everybody could become Michelle Kwan or Patrick Chan (A famous Canadian figure skater of Chinese descent).

In the interviews, most Chinese immigrant students claimed that they had clear ideas what their parents' educational expectations were for them. Compared with local

Canadian students, they were more sheltered in Chinese family education. When they became older, they had developed their own expectations, at the same time, they had more comprehensive understanding about their family education and culture background.

“Sometimes I get my way; sometimes my mom gets her way.”

For Chinese immigrant children, how to communicate and do things was a negotiation process between their ways and their parents’ ways. For example, the son from family Xie said “sometimes I get my way; sometimes my mom gets her way”:

My family education is quite Chinese style. We speak mandarin and eat Chinese food at home. The relationship between my parents and me is the relationship between elders and children. I respect my parents. It is bad to argue with my parents. If we cannot agree with each other on certain things, maybe initially I will be angry or upset because I am not so mature or sophisticated. Then I will communicate with my parents. If we still cannot convince each other, maybe we need compromise a little bit. For example, we will deal with the problem in half my mother’s way, and half my own way. If she disagrees, then I just do things in her way.

He was a good example of someone who took the advantages from both Chinese culture and Western culture. He had so many good qualities. He did well in school, enjoyed sports with friends, respected his parents, and helped parents with the chores. It was impressive how he cherished his relationship with parents and how he dealt with the conflicts with parents. He was self-motivated. He wanted to keep his grades at the top level. He said:

In general, my grades are above average. My ranking is in the top 5 or 6 in the class. The last winter term from September to December, my grades were good. I got above 90 on every subject. This term from January to May, my grades were not so good. My grades were 85 or a little higher than 85 on different subjects. I was so upset about it. It made me realize that I cannot stop trying and putting my efforts into studies when I got good grades in the previous term. I learned my lesson that I have to keep trying my best if I want to continue getting high grades every term instead of being content with the achievement I received before.

He explained he would have higher expectations for himself when he went to high school. He had clear future plans. High school was an important period for his future education and success. And he was ready to take the challenge:

I am in Grade 9 now. I need to study harder when I enter high school next year. My goal is to become the number one student in my class. And I think every student should have this ambition. Because how well I do in my high school studies will strongly influence which universities I will be capable to apply for. I don't want to have any regret in my later life if I don't try harder in my high school years.

He commented that his high motivation came from his own expectations and his parents' encouragement and supports. His mother had different ways to drive him to work harder. And he wanted to make his mother happy and himself happy too. He said:

My mom bought me a series of books named 'Southwest Advantage' last summer. The good thing about these books was there were many good examples explaining the content I learned from my textbooks to help me understand the curriculum much better. These books helped me a lot with my studies. The content in these books was comprehensive including social science, math, and natural science. Whenever I felt I needed some help with my schoolwork, I would turn to these books. My mom sometimes encouraged me by promising to take me to my favourite restaurant every week if I can get better grades. Or she would buy me something nice.

Of course, not every Chinese immigrant student had interest in studying. Some of them felt studying was not their thing. No matter how hard they tried, they could barely live up to their parents' expectations. For example, the daughter from family Dai said:

I understand that studying is important from an early age because this has always been the only thing my parents care about. I don't feel there is anything wrong with it. However, emotionally, sometimes I felt my parents cared too much about my studies, which brought me big pressure. I wanted to hide myself and refused to face it if I did not get good grades. There was one time I failed to get good grades for that term. I knew what kind of reactions I would get from my parents. I hid my report card to avoid being criticized by them. They were even angrier with this behaviour. I am currently working now. I still plan to take some courses from university to see whether I can get a degree later. I know my parents never

give up on urging me to get a degree. I understand their wishes and will try to do so.

Some Chinese immigrant students felt their childhood happiness was taken away because their parents requested them to study hard and sacrifice the pleasure playing with friends and enjoying free time. Parents were confident about the rewards from education and trusted education to be the most efficient way to change people's life. Chinese immigrant children were expected to always place study as their priority. However, they all wanted more free time to play and do things like other Canadian students, for example, the son from family Dai said:

My parents never allowed me to join the school sports team. I had to stay in my room studying when all my friends were playing football. But I learned how to deal with my parents. If I need anything, I would use study as an excuse. I know that my parents would buy me anything if it was necessary for my study. For example, if I need new glasses, I would tell them I cannot see the blackboard. I would tell them I need to do school projects with classmates but actually I just wanted to stay in school playing. So I learned a strategy to deal with my parents and tried to steal some time playing with my friends.

Because of Chinese immigrant parents' close supervision and strict rules in the household, Chinese immigrant children cannot often get away to do whatever they wanted. Also they unconsciously internalised some of parents' values regarding education. Although there were conflicts between parents and children, it seemed they could always find a way to compromise and solve the problem.

The relationship between Chinese immigrant children and their parents were not fixed. Children had been learning how to communicate and negotiate with their parents, at the same time, parents had been trying to adjust their ways of involving in their children's studies. In this process, most of the children and parents had developed better mutual understanding between each other. For example, the Son from family Dai

explained he had to listen to his parents when he was young, but his parents showed more trust and gave him more freedom to make decisions when he got older and showed his maturity and responsibility:

The relationship between me and my parents had been changing recently. When I was young, of course I had to listen to them every time. When I got older, I knew more from school and from my friends. I started to have my own thinking about my future education and career. But my parents' knowledge about how I should apply for university or how I can start a career was limited. They always had blurred ideas that I need to go to university and pursue some high ranking careers. Actually they did not have the knowledge about educational system or job market in Canada. All they knew were from their friends' comments or other immigrants' experiences. When I talk with them with my knowledge and explain to them how I think about continuing my education and how I would do it. They were easily persuaded by me and trusted me. When I showed to them that I would be responsible for my life, and had put efforts into doing what I believed was right for me. My parents have always been supportive for my decisions despite I didn't choose to be a lawyer or medical doctor like they wished.

Chinese family education would not allow direct arguments between children with their parents, which would be regarded as disobedient and disrespectful. So children need to communicate with parents to coordinate the contradictions in order to negotiate an acceptable compromise to both sides. In fact, Chinese immigrant parents were not always planning everything for their children, or adhered to their typical Chinese parenting ways to supervise their children. When the children became more mature with their own thinking and plans, and showed their capability and determination to be responsible for their future lives, most Chinese immigrant parents started to switch their roles from the decision makers to the supporters.

Summary and Discussion

Chinese immigrant parents' parenting played a role of bridge to connect the educational expectations and the actual academic achievement. The key elements of

“training” was well reflected in Chinese immigrant parents’ parenting style and practices. Chinese immigrant parents’ parenting was unique because it was neither typical Chinese parenting nor Western parents’ parenting. Spindler, G. and Spindler, L. (1987a, 1987b) argued that culture influence how individuals transfer their experiences, thoughts, and feelings into behaviours. Chinese culture has traditionally placed a high value on education as a means for achieving success, contributing to society, move upward in social status ladder, and self-improvement. So how Chinese immigrant parents train their children was attributed to both core values in Chinese culture and the way Chinese immigrant parents response to the changing social environment. Chinese immigrant parents’ response to the new parenting philosophy and school education in Canada showed which was called by Li (2001) as “minority ideology” (p. 477), it means different ethnic groups had their own way to adjust to the host country. As discussed by Ogbu (1981), parenting was guided by both past and current conditions that dictated which child behaviours were most desirable and which child-rearing practices were most effective at promoting those outcomes.

Chinese immigrant parents’ parenting was continually evolving based on the transactions that took place between parents and children, and between families and the social environments. Chinese immigrant parents need to deal with the ethnic cultural values and the new values in Canadian society. Positive parenting practices were defined as high levels of parental warmth and reasoning. Children would more accurately perceive parents’ values in a warm and supportive parenting context (Knafo & Schwartz, 2001; Rudy & Grusec, 2001). In order to continue being a big influence in children’s education, Chinese immigrant parents began to adjust their ways of communicating with

children and to adapt their ways of involvement in children's education. Generally speaking, their parenting style became less demanding and more supportive. They tended to transmit their values to children in subtle ways through specific reminders in daily life rather than to request children what to do and what not to do. Along with instilling the value orientation regarding education in children, Chinese immigrant parents also applied parental practices like training children to develop good study habits and qualities. Continuing support financially and emotionally for children's education was another characteristic in Chinese immigrant parents' parenting. In their parenting, being restrictive or controlling and being warm or concerned coexisted, which were consistent with Chao's (1994, 2001) research findings.

There were differences among Chinese immigrant parents' specific parenting practices. Some parents tried to hold it back because they did not want their children to think they behaved like typical Chinese parents. They were more flexible in making adjustments in their parenting strategies in the new cultural context. They attempted to understand their children's world, value communication, and pay attention to their children's social and emotional needs. They wanted to keep a good bonding and mutual trust with their children. Some parents felt it was hard to let go of some values and parenting behaviours. They continued to maintain strict control and to monitor over their children in their daily life. However, parents' strictness often led to increased conflicts with their children, particularly as children entered their teenage years and yearned for more freedom.

Chinese immigrant students expressed their mixed feelings about parents' high expectations and parenting. On one hand, they knew that parents always wanted the best

for them and wanted to help them succeed. On the other hand, they were frustrated about the truth that growing up in a Chinese family meant they had to take parents' words seriously and found a way to balance their own preference and parents' expectations. Chinese immigrant students developed their self-expectations based on their parents', teachers', and peer groups' educational expectations for themselves and their own schooling experiences. Most Chinese immigrant students benefitted from their parents' training on them. The strong bonding between parents and children, parents' close monitoring and supervision of children's schooling, both made children unlikely to get away with their parents' educational expectations too much.

Chapter Six Conclusions and Implications

The primary purpose of this study was to deepen the understanding of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations in Canada, and to further improve the understanding of their living and schooling experiences in Canada. How do Chinese immigrant families form and develop their educational expectations in the Canadian context was the central research question. There were three sub-research questions: What are Chinese parents' and children's educational expectations? What are the factors affecting Chinese immigrant parents' and children's educational expectations? What are Chinese immigrant parents' and children's plans and strategies to fulfill their educational expectations?

This research was a qualitative multiple case study. It was believed that the "truth" of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations existed in the interaction between their interpretation of the context and the context's influence on their thinking and behaviour in a certain time period and under a certain circumstance. In-depth interviews was applied as the main method to collect data in this research. Data were analyzed in three phases: refining and open coding, building categories and themes, cross-case comparison and analytical generalization.

Thirteen parents and eight children from twelve Chinese immigrant families participated in this research. Some Chinese immigrant families just moved to Canada approximately two or three years ago. Some of them had been living in Canada for about five to eight years. Some of them had been living in Canada for over fifteen years. All the participating Chinese immigrant families had their uniqueness but also shared some commonalities regarding their living and schooling experiences in Canada. Their

experiences and stories were described and analyzed both in the specific family context and in the larger Chinese immigrant community.

This chapter consists of five sections: the first section is to summarize the research findings by directly responding to each research question; the second section is to conceptualize all the findings together in a new conceptual map and compare it with the original conceptual map in Chapter Two of the literature review; the third section is to summarize Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations in a folk theory format to achieve certain abstraction; the fourth section is to discuss the implications of policy and the recommendation for future research; the fifth section is researcher's closing remarks regarding this research journey.

Question 1: What Are Chinese Parents' and Children's Educational Expectations?

The first research question was concerned with Chinese immigrant families' specific educational expectations in the Canadian context. The question sought information from the selected Chinese immigrant families with respect to their educational expectations from both parents and children. In this research, it was indicated that there were two levels of meanings included in Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations: the specific expectations regarding children's academic achievement and attainment; the general expectations regarding what kind of people children should become.

The Specific Educational Expectations regarding Academic Achievement

This level of educational expectations regarding children's academic achievement included three elements: How far to go in education (educational attainment)? What the university major choices and future careers to pursue? What social status to achieve?

Educational attainment.

Chinese immigrant families generally held high educational expectations regarding how far their children should go in education despite different reasons of immigration and different family socioeconomics backgrounds. All parents wanted their children to continue into post-secondary education and they thought it was quite a natural choice. All children interviewed planned to or already went to university immediately after high school studies. There was only one child who preferred to have one or two years' work experience before entering university because he intended to take some time to figure out his interest and career plan. But his mother already applied for university admission on his behalf. Most likely he will go to university as long as he gets any offer from a university. All parents expressed that they would always support their children to continue pursuing graduate studies if their children would like to do so. All parents indicated they would have higher expectations for their children if they were still living in China given the fierce competition for entering universities and getting good jobs in China.

High school diploma was an unacceptable option for Chinese immigrant parents regarding their children's educational attainment. It was hard for parents to understand why there were so many Canadian adolescents who went directly to work after high school studies. In their mind, high school graduates were too young to work full time.

And the jobs high school graduates could get were not promising for developing a good career. They believed going to university was not just for future career but also for their children to meet with people and develop themselves through the university experience. Two parents expressed it was acceptable if their children went to vocational colleges. However, most parents did not have the worries that their children would prefer college over university because the social surrounding and peer influence in their children's growing up would not lead them to consider choosing to go to college. One parent mentioned that she never heard about any child of her Chinese friends went to college in her fifteen years' living in Canada.

Major choice and career plan.

Chinese immigrant students' university major choices and future career plans were clustered in certain fields, such as engineering, computer science, medicine, finance, and other natural or applied sciences. Parents did not want their children to suffer in the future because of a bad choice on major in university. In this research, two parents gave more considerations about other major options for their children that were not usually favoured by Chinese immigrant parents, for example, librarian, teacher, and community facilities planning and design. They also expressed that they preferred not to plan out everything for their children. Instead, they were willing to provide everything they could to help their children find their passions by sending them to different after school talent training courses and encouraging them to read lots of books.

Chinese immigrant parents believed literature and humanities relevant majors were too hard for their children to stand out in these fields. Any major in art, music, or sports were not Chinese immigrant parents' preference either. Parents' concerns included:

English was not their children's first language; the financial rewards from these fields were not competitive; there were not enough role models for Chinese immigrants in these fields. Although parents contributed time and money to support their children developing many talents, for example, learn to play instruments, dancing, skating, painting, and swimming. Most parents' intentions were to support their children to get a comprehensive development rather than to train them in becoming a professional artist or athlete. There was one immigrant child told that her parents used to plan to train her becoming a professional figure skater, like Michelle Kwan or Patrick Chan, who were gold medal winning figure skaters with Chinese immigrant background. This girl had ten years' figure skating training experience. When it reached a point that she could not balance her schoolwork and skating practice any more, she gave up on skating, which was supported by her parents, because focusing on schoolwork obviously had bigger chance for her to succeed than investing all her time on figure skating. Generally speaking, Chinese immigrant parents held high and practical expectations for their children's education and future career. They guided their children to choose the majors that could bring a good job with decent salary to secure a bright future.

Previous research provided some explanations regarding Asian immigrants' career preference in North America. For example, Xie and Goyette (2003) proposed a synthetic framework of "strategic adaptation" for understanding the social mobility process of Asian Americans. They argued that Asian immigrants consciously choose occupations where they can effectively cope with potential discrimination and other disadvantages by achieving marketable credentials. This argument was consistent with the results achieved in this research. For example, most parents suggested that computer science, engineering,

medicine, and actuarial science were the careers on their top list to encourage their children to pursue. These careers were relatively less language based than other kinds of high-level professions. By choosing these careers, parents assumed that their children could effectively avoid the potential occupational discrimination.

Social status.

In this research, Chinese immigrant parents did not give definite descriptions about their expectations for their children's future social status in Canada. But all parents expressed their least interests in labour jobs as their children's future occupation. They were afraid to see their children living a life from hand to mouth. They hoped their children could make a living by professional knowledge and technology, which would also lead to a higher socioeconomic status. Parents in this research were first generation of immigrants. They had been working hard to build the foundation for their families. They wanted their children to live better lives than themselves and to pass on the family legacy to the next generation.

Chinese immigrant parents wanted their children to move up to a higher social status because they believed that their children's lives could be more stable and high quality. Parents also believed the social surrounding in which their children would be working could influence their children's vision and behaviour. Additionally, they believed there might be less discrimination in the higher social status circle because people were more knowledgeable and inclusive about different cultures. In summary, Chinese immigrant parents' expectations for their children's future social status were both found in their good wishes for their children's success and in strategies to avoid potential unfairness or discrimination.

Previous research had termed Asian immigrants as “middleman minority” group (e.g. Blalock, 1967; Bonacich, 1973; Kitano, 1974) because Asian immigrants strategically invested in science-oriented professions and made them become the middleman minority group in North America. As middleman minority group, Asian immigrants were neither the dominant group in the society nor the minority group at the bottom. The Asian middleman group was able to rise above the status of other minorities because of a competitive advantage or high adaptive capabilities (Kitano, 1974). All the participating Chinese immigrant parents held rational analysis about their immigrant status in Canada and collected the knowledge regarding how to achieve high based on their advantages and to avoid their disadvantages. At the same time, parents had worries regarding the market worth of their children’s educational credentials, thus they all encouraged their children to overachieve to offset the “glass ceiling” effect.

The General Educational Expectations regarding What Kind of People Children Should Become

Chinese immigrant parents were training their children to adhere to socially desirable and culturally approved behaviours (Kelley & Tseng, 1992). Their expectations for their children included not only children’s academic achievement but also children’s moral and character development. Parents expected their children to be the “ideal child” in Chinese cultural frame who should be high achiever in academics and well-behaved. Children were expected to live up to this standard of “ideal child” by being successful in education and being a good person to contribute to the society.

Because Chinese immigrant families were living in a host culture of Canada with their Chinese cultural background, parents all emphasized the importance of bringing up

their children with good character by maintaining the virtues of their heritage culture and learning the good values from the host culture. Parents considered instilling good morals to their children as the most important responsibility of childrearing. Some parents commented that being a good person was much more important than achieving high in academics. In this research, Chinese immigrant parents listed some good qualities that they wanted their children to have, such as: “being responsible,” “reliable and trustworthy,” “honest,” “obeying the laws,” “modest,” “unselfish,” “good manners,” “respecting parents,” “self-discipline,” “self-motivated,” “hard working,” “a sense of right and wrong,” “high self-esteem,” “goal-oriented,” “independent,” “critical thinking,” and “brave.” Parents encouraged their children to be more independent by doing part time summer jobs to save for their university tuition and to get more work experiences. Parents gave their children the opportunities to learn how to solve problems and take challenges in life. Parents also encouraged children to be critical thinkers and not to get distraction from other people’s comments. Parents taught children to be respectful and inclusive to different cultures and values. At the same time, Chinese immigrant parents shared some reservations about the mainstream culture in Canada. They preferred their children not to imitate some of the local Canadian young people. For example, too many parties, dating at a young age, moving out from parents’ place too soon, trying drugs, and enjoying life at the moment without goals in life, etc. In order to cultivate the good qualities in children, Chinese immigrant parents were quite vigilant about their children’s social circle and behaviour change; they tried to be their children’s role models, hoping their children could internalize the values they emphasized; and they set certain rules in the household to guide children’s behaviours toward the right track.

Question 2: What are the factors affecting Chinese immigrant parents' and children's educational expectations?

Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations were affected by Chinese cultural values and acculturation gap, parents' life experiences and perception of Canadian society, family's social status, age of immigration and length of residence, previous educational performance and academic self-concept, immigrant status, gender and personalities, and peer influence. Different factors and different combinations of these factors would influence Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations in different ways. Chapter Five of Data Presentation and Analysis included the detailed descriptions about how these factors worked in different Chinese immigrant families. Each family had a distinctive family story of arriving and settling down in Canada, which revealed their experiences and perceptions of children's education in Canada. The following findings should be understood in specific context when applied to individual families.

Chinese Cultural Values and Acculturation Gap

Chinese immigrant parents' core cultural values regarding children's education had not changed following immigration despite the fact that the parent-children interaction had been modified to improve the efficiency of transmitting parents' values to children. Chinese parents' expectations of their children's future were deeply shaped by Confucian philosophy in Chinese culture. Chinese immigrant parents' attitude towards mainstream culture in Canada was quite open-minded, and they showed strong interest to learn more about Canadian society. At the same time, they emphasized Chinese culture in their households. They also turned to Chinese core cultural values to set the principles

regarding children's education and schoolwork. Gibson (1988) explained immigrant parents' attitude towards the mainstream culture and their ethnic culture as "accommodation without assimilation", which was again proved in this research.

Emphasis on education was one of the central values in Confucian philosophy. Education has been always thought to be a superior and honoured thing to pursue in Chinese culture. Chinese immigrant parents regarded educational achievement as paramount means for upward social mobility and a symbol of being successful in Canada. For Chinese immigrant families, high academic achievement not only was a prerequisite for good jobs and high social status, but also was good for children's self-improvement because education has always been seen as a way of improving oneself in Chinese culture. Just like Feather (1988, 1992) said, individuals' value would influence the attractiveness of different goals and, consequently, the motivation to attain these goals. Chinese immigrants' value regarding education greatly motivated them to achieve high academically. Hickey (1997) said social conceptualization of learning had important implications for conceptualization of children's motivation and how their motivation developed. Growing up in Chinese family cultural surroundings, Chinese immigrant children's motivation of learning and achieving academically were strongly influenced by the values transmitted by their parents.

There is an old Chinese saying: "The father is the person to blame for his son's failure" (zi bu jiao, fu zhi guo. 子不教，父之过). Chinese cultural value emphasized parents' strong responsibility in their children's accomplishment and failure. Children's success means parents' success, children's failure is parents' shame. Children should fulfill their roles to achieve success and bring glory to their families. In this research,

searching for a better future for the children was one of main reasons for parents to immigrate to Canada. Parents invested all they had to ensure their children can do well in school. Parents did not see their investment of time and money for children's education as a sacrifice, instead, they regarded it as their responsibility. For Chinese immigrant children, the most frequent comment they heard from their parents was that they only need to focus on studying, no need to worry about other things. As long as they could succeed academically, they can do whatever they want in their future lives.

People's diligence rather than the innate capability has been believed to be the main reason of people's success in Chinese cultural value. Chinese immigrant parents believed that children's failure on education was because of laziness instead of intelligence. In the "value expectancy" framework of motivation, individuals' choice, persistence, and performance can be explained by their beliefs about how well they can do on the activity and the extent to which they value the activity (e.g., Wigfield & Eccles, 2000, 2002). Both Chinese immigrant parents and children believed their high educational expectations could be achieved through hard work. Chinese immigrant parents' confidence and positive thinking about education's role in their children's lives made them more determined to support children's education to reach full potentials. Entwistle and Hayduk (1978) explained immigrants' high educational expectations for their children were more like a "self-fulfilling prophecies" because immigrant parents consistently reinforced their expectations and had strong influence on their children to fulfill their expectations.

Although the core values regarding children's education had not changed. There were acculturation gaps that led to the adjustment of some thinking and specific strategies

of fulfilling the expectations. The acculturation gaps existed between parents and children, different groups of parents, and different groups of children. Parents' and children's acculturation pace was different depending on multiple factors and their personal experiences. While the general trend of the differences indicated: Chinese parents as the first generation immigrants had stronger commitment to Chinese culture than Chinese children as the second generation immigrants; the recent Chinese immigrant parents tended to adhere more to Chinese values than the early Chinese immigrant parents; the teenage Chinese immigrant children in the recent immigrant families behaved more like Chinese than the children in early immigrant families. Because Chinese immigrant families shared the same core cultural values, at the same time there were differences of their acculturation, the educational expectations held in Chinese immigrant families had similarities given that the expectations were rooted in Chinese core value system. But the ways and strategies applied by the families to fulfill their expectations were personalized and contextualized.

Parents' Life Experiences and Perception of Canadian Society

Chinese immigrant parents' life experiences both in China and in Canada, and their perception and understanding about their experiences definitely exerted influence on their educational expectations and involvement in children's decision making regarding educational issues. Parents' life experiences influenced them to either emphasize more on the instrumental value of education or more on the self-realization value of education. This difference would further influence parents' parenting regarding children's schooling.

Most Chinese immigrant parents had gone through a tough process of employment searching partially due to the fact that their professional accreditations and

work experiences in China were not recognized in Canada. Suto (2009) claimed there was a big disjuncture between the social contract that Canadian government formed with immigrants and the outcomes of their job searches. The job market in Canada usually had an expectation of Canadian work experience and a high level of English language skills. Because of this disjuncture, Chinese immigrant parents had to start from the jobs below their capacities, which were called by Lau (2010) and Suto (2009) as “compromised careers” to describe this changed employment trajectories. Therefore, most Chinese immigrant parents experienced a big downward occupational mobility and social status in the transition period of living in Canada.

In Kerckhoff’s (1976) allocation model of blocked-opportunities framework, expectations were viewed as outcomes foreseen in the presence of various environmental constraints (Hanson, 1994). Chinese immigrant parents’ own experiences of searching for employment influenced their perceptions about how their children should prepare for future careers in Canada. Parents’ expectations for their children were developed based on the knowledge of the real world with the structural constraints they had experienced rather than based on an ideal fair world. Parents believed their children were not in an advantage position to start career in Canada. Especially for recent immigrant parents with teenage children, they understood that they were new comers lacking in many aspects like language and social resources. While parents believed education gave everybody the same opportunity regardless of people’s backgrounds. Education was the most efficient way to move upwards on the social status ladder. Parents wanted their children to avoid disadvantages and achieve the best result for themselves. This was consistent with Buchmann and Dalton’s (2002) argument: expectations were grounded in

a relatively clear assessment of values of people's intended education and deep understandings of structural, as well as personal, constraints operating in their everyday lives. Chinese immigrant parents tended to guide their children toward a certain group of academic disciplines, such as engineering and computer science, because such fields were perceived as providing more opportunities for employment and better financial rewards to secure a good life. Some parents viewed this practical philosophy as a weapon against potential racism and discrimination as well because of the comparatively objective selective standards and less emphasis on English language skills in these fields.

There was another group of Chinese immigrant parents, compared to recent Chinese immigrant parents with teenage children, they came to Canada as international students many years ago, then settled down in Canada afterward. This group of parents had a smoother transition from China to Canada because they had an education background in Canada and better English language capability. Most of their children were born in Canada or came to Canada when they were three or four years old. For these parents, they had education experiences in both China and Canada, and they also had better knowledge about Canadian society because of the longer residence in this country. They emphasized more on self-realization value of education for their children. However, they still played an important role guiding their children to keep the balance between pursuing the career their children had passion for and being practical to ensure the career could support their children to be financially independent.

Family's Social Status

In this research, there were both middle class Chinese immigrant families and working class Chinese immigrant families. There was no difference among Chinese

immigrant parents in terms of their dedication and investment on their children's education regardless of their social status. There was no obvious difference of their parents' educational expectations either. However, there were differences in terms of their attitude, confidence level, and specific parenting practices.

Knowing that children would not totally follow the road parents had planned for them, the parents of higher socioeconomic status were confident about their children's vision of future careers and lives because they were confident about the way their children had been raised and the social surroundings in which their children had grown up would lead their children to develop high expectations for themselves. The parents of lower socioeconomic status were not as confident about their children's initiative and motivation on studies because there were fewer role models in their children's social surroundings even though parents could provide the same financial support.

Parents with higher social status were more relaxed and democratic toward children's education issues, showing tendency to give their children more freedom on decision making when it came to choice of majors in their studies, career plans, and which universities to apply for. Being free from the pressure of practical concerns, parents of middle class Chinese immigrant families were not so determined to push their children to pursue the high ranking jobs typically chosen by Chinese immigrants, such as lawyer or medical doctor. However, there was a possibility that these parents just intended to show they were not typical traditional Chinese parents. Apparently they were confident that their children would choose the pragmatic and high paying career without the pressure from parents because their children grew up in the social surrounding full of role models as their reference to make career decisions. For the parents with lower social

status, they were more determined to help their children have a better future through facilitating their children to pursue higher ranking occupations. They tended to emphasize the importance of education in a more straightforward way and apply stricter rules on their children following traditional Chinese parenting tenets without making too many adaptations in the new cultural context. It would cause more parent–child conflicts and ineffective communications.

Immigrant Status

As mentioned above, Chinese immigrant parents thought their children were not at an advantageous position to achieve success in Canada as minority immigrants. As summarized by Kao and Tienda (1998), the social disadvantageous status would either lead to overcompensation for the liabilities of minority group status by overachieving academically (Sue & Okazaki, 1990) or lead to educational underperformance if an ethnic group becomes sceptical about the value of educational success as a means to move upwards (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). As for Chinese immigrant families, they maintained positive attitude regarding children's education and they were confident about the reward from education, so they generally fell into the first group of overachieving.

Along with the strong belief of the reward from education, Chinese immigrant parents had rational judgements about their minority immigrant status in Canada. They believed there were some potential uneven opportunities in certain fields. So they trusted the careers that apply more objective evaluation standards rather than the careers that requested strong language and cultural background. Both Chinese immigrant parents and children provided their conservative comments regarding the discrimination situation they might experience before. They felt they had been often Asian stereotyped rather

than been discriminated against. Or there were more hidden discrimination than obvious discrimination nowadays. Their attitude towards discrimination was to ignore it. Being stereotyped was not necessary always a bad thing for Chinese immigrant students because they also referenced the stereotypical group image to construct their educational expectations purposely or unconsciously.

Ogbu (1991) discussed why different ethnic groups reacted differently to the similar social environment by comparing Asian immigrants with African immigrants. As argued by Ogbu, although African immigrant parents valued schooling, they warned their children that American society had not rewarded African immigrants and Caucasians equally for their credentials based on their own concrete experiences. Therefore, African immigrant parents were not as confident as Asian immigrant parents regarding the reward from education for their children. African immigrant children received ambivalent and perhaps contradictory values toward education from their parents because on one hand their parents still believed education was important, on the other hand, their parents sent some negative information that they might not get recognized by their academic achievement in the job market. Facing the similar social environment, and realizing there might be potential unfairness, Asian immigrant parents' strategy was to encourage children to achieve higher levels of educational attainment in order to compensate for anticipated discrimination in the job market.

Age of Immigration and Length of Residence

Age of immigration was a salient factor to differentiate how fast Chinese immigrant students could adjust to the new social environment and later how they culturally identify themselves in Canada. The younger were the Chinese immigrant

students, the less sensitive they were about the changed environment; they behaved more care-free and problem-free. It was easier for younger immigrant students to pick up English and make new friends. They also identified themselves with Western culture more when they grew up. In addition, their values about education were more diversified and they put more emphasis on self-fulfilling and the pleasure in life. Teenage Chinese immigrant students were more sensitive to the culture changes and their identity issues. Longer schooling experience in China and stronger bonding with their parents added difficulty for them to go through the transition life from China to Canada. They still kept strong identification with Chinese culture following immigration. They were also dependent more on their parents regarding their educational issues in Canada because of their lack of familiarity with the new school and social environment.

For Chinese immigrant parents who had been living in Canada for longer time, they gave more freedom to their children to plan out their own future. Their lives in Canada had settled down. Further, with longer time of being exposed to Canadian society and accumulating more social resources, parents tended to encourage their children to pursue their career they had passion for. Their parenting was more flexible and adaptive, such as letting go of some parental controls and learning more about their children's needs. They felt more relaxed about children's schooling and had fewer conflicts with children regarding education-related issues. For Chinese immigrant parents who had shorter time living in Canada, their thinking about how their children should build up a future in Canada was more practical. They hoped for the best results with less uncertain risks regarding their children's education and career development in

Canada. Parents in the new immigrant families were also likely to be more control oriented and demanded more obedience.

Peer Influence

Because the socially desirable and culturally approved behaviours were different in different countries, Chinese immigrant students had been experiencing different standards from their parents and from the school regarding how should they behave and what kind of person should they become. Chinese immigrant parents encouraged their children to live up to the “ideal child” standard in Chinese cultural frame, who should be a high achiever in academics and well-behaved. Chinese immigrant children had the desire to “being good” in their parents’ eyes, however, the school culture and peer influence told them a different story: “being good” was not equal to “being popular” in school. Chinese immigrant children tried to balance these two expectations from parents and from peer group.

It was shown in this research that Chinese immigrant children behaved differently at home and outside home. This was consistent with the group socialization theory (Harris, 1995; Levine & Moreland, 1994), in which the researchers claimed that by the end of middle childhood, the children with normal exposure to outside home environment would have at least two separate behavioural systems—one for use at home, one or more for outside home. It was also shown that the older Chinese immigrant children became or the longer their residence in Canada was, the more they would focus on peer influence outside home.

Different groups of Chinese immigrant students experienced different socialization in school. As analysed by Stanton-Salazar (1997), successful socialization

among immigrant minority children entailed learning to “decode the system” and to “participate in power,” understood as learning how to engage socially those agents and participate in mainstream worlds and social settings who controlled or managed critical resources. In this research, the recent Chinese immigrant teenage students did not decode the system in school setting purposely. They just unconsciously followed the code to participate in the activities mainstream Canadian students normally did. They behaved more like Chinese students, for example, spending more time on their studies and being less active in school. For the early Chinese immigrant students, they knew more about the code among peers in the school setting, and they were more driven to be a member in a popular group, drawn to the behaviours desired in mainstream peer group like playing sports, at the same time, they need to keep doing well on their studies to fulfill the expectations from parents.

Chinese immigrant parents closely supervised their children’s social circle to moderate the peer influence considering parents and peer groups may affect and constrain each other in their contributions to children’s development. Whereas the relations between parents’ parenting and children’s development may be reinforced or weakened by the context of the children’s peer group, parents adjusted their parenting to lessen the conflicts between family education and school education their children were experiencing.

There were different priorities in parents’ concerns regarding children’s peer influence. The recent Chinese immigrant parents emphasized more on their children’s academic adjustment in the new schooling environment. They did not worry about their children getting negative peer influence since their children’s social circle was usually limited. They more cared about whether their children could overcome the language

barriers to catch up with local students on study progress. For the parents who had been living in Canada for longer time, more frequently they were talking about how they worried about their children being negatively influenced morally and behaviourally, like “going down the wrong road” or “becoming a bad person.” So they always maintained the watchful eyes on their children, making sure their children were not falling under negative peer influences.

Gender and Personalities

Children’s gender did not make big difference in terms of their parents’ educational expectations for them. Chinese immigrant parents held the same high educational expectations for both boys and girls. However, parents would give considerations of gender regarding the choice of major in university. More often parents supported daughters to choose a medical related major or social science majors with good potential career development opportunities such as finance or business management. Parents’ preference for their sons’ majors included engineering and computer science. Parents were also more protective of their daughters in daily life. Girls had fewer conflicts with their parents. Parents felt harder to communicate with boys especially when they reached teenage years.

Chinese immigrant parents’ and children’s personalities would influence the degree and the pace of their acculturation into Canadian society. Parents who were more conservative need longer time to learn more about the new country. They also tended to get information and listen to suggestions from the people who were close to them, for example, their friends or relatives who moved to Canada earlier than them. They paid more attention to their children’s study progress rather than worried about their children’s

interaction with peers at school because they supposed it should be a natural process for their children to make new friends. Parents who were outgoing or more eager to get involved in Canadian society would attend more activities like English courses, church events, and activities in Chinese immigrant community. They also encouraged their children to make more friends in the Canadian-born English speaking peer groups and develop social skills. The similar situation also existed among Chinese immigrant children. The shy children behaved less active and were more sensitive to what was happening in school. The outgoing children were enjoying their spare time and hanging out with new friends. As for children's education, the first group of parents preferred not to take the risk to try anything new; they had stronger dependence on the social resources and support from other Chinese immigrant parents who were close to them. The shy children showed more obedience to parents' supervision regarding their studies. The more active children spent more time with Western peers, so their thinking and behaviour were more unpredictable.

Question 3: How do Chinese immigrant parents and children plan to fulfill their educational expectations?

In this research, Chinese immigrant parents described their educational expectations for their children quite clearly and specifically. They also tended to maintain a strong commitment to help their children fulfill the expectations. How Chinese immigrant parents transmitted the educational expectations to their children and actualized the expectations through parenting had an enormous impact on children's eventual school performance and academic achievement.

Transitional life experiences from China to Canada characterised Chinese immigrant parents' parenting, which was different from traditional Chinese parents' parenting and different from Canadian parents' parenting. Parents' attitudes and practices reflected an awareness of the need to adapt to the new social surroundings despite their core values were still rooted in Chinese culture. To help children live up to the high educational expectations was not a short time effort. Instead, it was penetrated in parents' day-to-day parenting from the very beginning when their children were toddlers, all the way to adulthood. It was found in current research that Chinese immigrant parents' parenting was consistent with the concept of "training" by Chao (1994). In Chao's research, "training" included "Chiao Shun" (training children early through guidance and continuous monitoring of their behaviours) and "Guan" ("to care for" or "to love" as well as "to govern"). Training centrally emphasized the importance of parental control in instilling the need to work hard, be self-disciplined, and do well in school, and the importance of providing parental involvement, concern, and support. The findings in this research showed Chinese immigrant parents actively involved in children's education in the hope of supporting them to develop to their fullest potential. To analyse Chinese immigrant parents' parenting in a more specific way, both their parenting style and parenting practice exerted great influence on Chinese immigrant children's own educational expectations and actual academic performance.

Parenting Style

As defined by Darling and Steinberg (1993), parenting style is the emotional climate in which parent's behaviours are expressed. Chinese immigrant parents were believed to be more controlling and demanding, which were shown in many aspects such

as the rules and close monitoring of everything in their children's lives. However, parents' rules and strictness were out of concern, caring, love, responsibility, and commitment. Actually parents let go some of the rules and gave more freedom to children when children showed more responsibility for their studies and future. Chinese immigrant parents' parenting reflected both "concern" (parental qualities such as sensitivity, warmth, encouragement, closeness, consistency, and being fair) and "restrictiveness" (sternness, hardness, tenseness, and severity), which were two central dimensions of general parenting style (Shek & Chan, 1999). Chinese parents' training of their children took place in the context of supportive but highly involved parent-child relationship.

Parenting Practices

Parental practices are the educational strategies to help children achieve their goals. Chinese immigrant parents' parenting practices can be summarized in the following aspects. First, parents conveyed their educational expectations to children through supportive attitude and active involvement in children's schooling and close guide of decision making on children's educational and career path. Parents stressed to children both positive outcomes of getting a good education and negative repercussions if they could not. By doing so, they wanted to instil the value orientation of education to their children to foster children's self-motivation. Parents tended to voice their advice in an open communication way rather than to directly impose their requests. They also trained their children to read, to see, to feel, hoping their children could form their own visions for the future and set high expectations for themselves.

Second, close involvement in children's study activities and developing children's study habits at an early age. There is a Chinese saying: "Genius is from diligence" (Tian cai shi yu qin fen. 天才始于勤奋). Parents were training their children to develop good study habits, for instance, time management, self-motivated learning, and work ethics, through monitoring their children's study activities. Parents' training of their children would become more and more specific and stricter when the children got older. Just like Goyette and Xie (1999) said, Chinese parents believed when children reached school age, they were capable of understanding things and therefore should be trained to be self-disciplined and hard-working, and be responsible for their own actions. In all the participating Chinese immigrant families, there were detailed timelines regarding children's after school studies and talent training courses as the routine on a weekly basis. Parents also provided a nice study environment at home. For example, children had their own rooms full of books either related to their curriculum or some talent training books like music or art. Parents adjusted their own schedules to be cooperative with their children's schedules. When the children went back to their rooms, parents would not watch TV in the living room. Besides, parents emphasized developing children's reading habit. They took their children to public libraries often or requested their children to do a certain amount of reading every week.

Third, parents gave constantly emotional and financial support in children's studies. Parents' supports were the manifestation of the commitment of their educational expectations for children as well as the act of encouragement to their children. For example, parents provided everything beneficial for their children's studies, including technology products like ipad or computers. Some parents made major personal

sacrifices to support their children's education, such as moving to a bigger city for better educational resources or working long hours to save up for their children's education fund.

It was indicated in this research that Chinese immigrant parents tried to support their children to achieve high academically through daily efforts in their parenting practices. Their parenting style and practices exerted a strong influence on their children's own motivation towards studying and children's own educational expectations. Just like Cheng and Starks (2002) argued, the formation of people's attitudes required the processing of information through self-reflection and daily interaction with others. In Chinese immigrant families' cases, Chinese immigrant children conceptualized a particular sociocultural reality through perceptions and internalization of information provided by their parents through daily communication. Different groups of minority immigrants may differ not only in significant others' expectations, but in the effects significant others' expectations have on students' expectations. As for Chinese immigrant families, parents played a crucial role in their children's education, and children's expectations for themselves were inevitably shaped by their parents.

Chinese Immigrant Children's Educational Expectations and Thoughts on Chinese Parenting

Chinese immigrant children could be caught between parents who took pride in Chinese culture, and teachers and peers who reflected the mainstream culture in Canada. There were conflicting attitudes, beliefs, and values between parents and children. However, in this research, there was no big difference between Chinese immigrant children's and parents' educational expectations. Obviously parents' values and

involvement in children's schooling profoundly affected children's self-concept and self-expectations. Haller and Portes (1973) said young people adjusted their thinking in relation to status-differentiated experiences at home and at school: "attitudes-including levels of aspiration—are formed and altered through two basic mechanisms: interpersonal influence, including reflexive adjustment of others' expectations, and including self-reflection."(p.55). Most Chinese immigrant children understood their parents' sacrifice and dedication and they would be willing to live up to parents' expectations despite occasional conflicts. Chinese immigrant children grew up in the family education that they should keep the strong bonding with their family and fulfill their responsibilities to their family. Achieving success academically and bringing honour to their family was the most straightforward way for Chinese immigrant children to fulfill their responsibilities to their family.

Although there was no big difference between Chinese immigrant children's educational expectations and their parents' educational expectations for them, different groups of Chinese immigrant children did show different levels of self-reflection about their educational choices and career plans. Teenage students in recent Chinese immigrant families had better understanding about their parents' educational expectations for them. They had been through the tough transition life with their parents from China to Canada. They tended to depend more on parents to plan out their future and trusted parents to make decisions for them. It was understandable because the traditionally strong ties between them and their parents were further reinforced by their lack of familiarity of the new environment in Canada. Different from the recent Chinese immigrant teenagers, the Canadian-born Chinese immigrant students and the students who moved to Canada at an

early age like four or five years old, had more their own plans for education and future career. They emphasized more on pursuing self-realization and personal interests without much practical considerations or distractions of material factors when making decisions regarding their future career.

As discussed by Markus and Kitayama (1991), there were two construal of the self: independent and interdependent. They explained how the two construal of the self developed in different ethnic groups. The independent construal in many Western cultures showed as the faith in the inherent separateness of distinct persons. Western culture encouraged people to become independent from others and to discover and express one's unique attributes. People were encouraged to achieve their independence by organizing their behaviours primarily by reference to their own internal repertoire of thoughts, feelings, and action, rather than by reference to the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others (p. 226). The interdependent construal in many non-Western cultures insisted on the fundamental connectedness of human beings to each other. People should maintain this interdependence among individuals and see oneself as part of an encompassing social relationship and reorganization that one's behaviour was determined, contingent on, and, to a large extent organized by what the actor perceived to be the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others in the relationship (p. 227). To apply Chinese immigrant children's educational expectations to this discussion, it was found that teenage students from recent Chinese immigrant families showed stronger interdependent construal of the self when they formed their educational expectations. They considered more about contributing to their families, fulfilling their responsibilities to their families, or paying back for their parents' hard work for building a new life in Canada. The

Canadian-born Chinese students and the students who moved to Canada at an early age showed more independent construal of the self when they planned for their future. They showed the desire to follow their dreams and do something they had passion for rather than just to make their parents happy.

The difference among different groups of Chinese immigrant children in terms of their educational expectations could also be explained by Swidler's (1986) examination of "settled" and "unsettled" lives of immigrants. For Canadian-born Chinese students who had been living "settled lives", Chinese traditional culture's influence was buffered by their independent goals in life. For recent Chinese immigrant student with "unsettled" lives, they might contradict themselves by choosing whatever actions were most readily available within their social environment. They also depended more on the social supports and more explicitly articulated value systems within Chinese immigrant community to find tools and strategies to achieve academic success.

As discussed above, generally speaking, there was no big difference of Chinese immigrant parents' and children's educational expectations. However, differences existed among Chinese immigrant children regarding to what extent they agreed with their parents' educational expectations, which were attributed to multiple factors discussed previously. When there were conflicts between Chinese immigrant children and their parents regarding education issues, it seemed that both parents and children were willing to improve mutual understanding and dealt with disagreements by discussing and compromising rather than arguing or fighting. There were bi-directional influences between parents and children rather than unidirectional influences flowing only from parents to their children. Chinese immigrant children's schooling experiences

in Canada influenced their parents' specific parenting practices. Parents also showed the intention to improve the efficiency of parent-child interactions by adjusting their parenting. Some families had a tougher process to cope with the conflicts and some families had a smoother process. Higher shared family expectations were found to be achieved through better parent-child interactions, which could facilitate children's actual academic achievement ultimately.

Summarizing the Findings in a New Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is developed to summarize Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations based on various voices from parents and children. This new conceptual framework is different from the conceptual framework in Chapter Two. The elements in this new conceptual framework and the relationships among the elements illustrate the deeper explanation about Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations in this research. At the same time, comparing this new conceptual framework with the conceptual framework in Chapter Two can show the differences between the assuming explanatory route and the actual research findings.

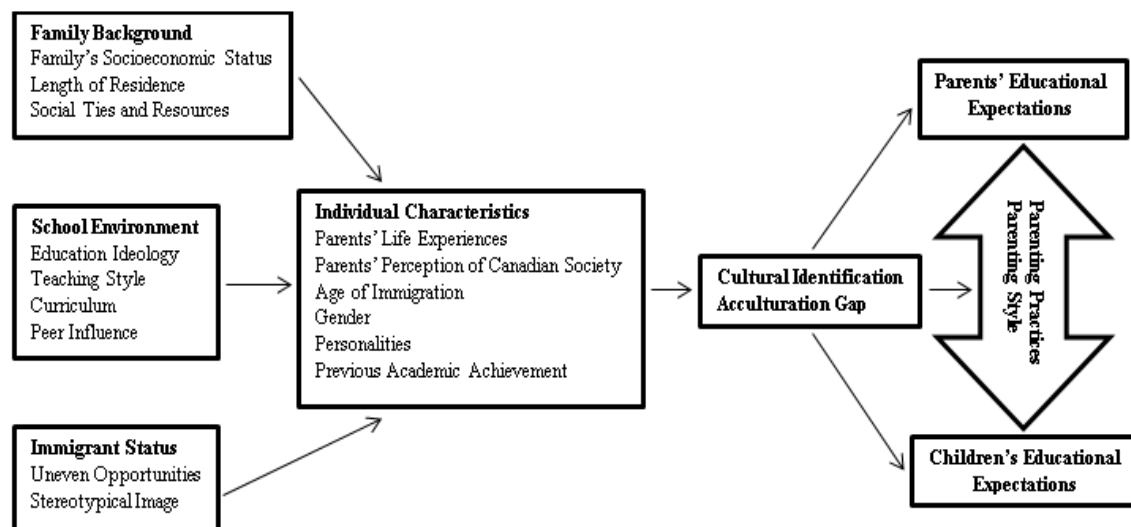


Figure 6.1. New Conceptual Framework

Family background, school environment, and minority immigrant status, intertwined with individual characteristics, jointly influenced how parents and children culturally identified themselves and their acculturation following immigration; cultural identification and acculturation influenced Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations in the most profound way. Chinese immigrant families' cultural identification was in accordance with the orthogonal identification model (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991). Instead of Chinese culture and Western culture being placed at opposite ends of a continuum, identification with one culture was essentially independent of identification with the other culture. For example, Chinese immigrant parents' increasing identification with Western culture did not require their decreasing identification with Chinese culture.

The findings in this research revealed Chinese immigrant families tried transplanting instead of uprooting Chinese culture, and acculturating instead of assimilating into Western culture. Chinese immigrant families chose to lean towards

Chinese or Western culture according to specific situations and personal perceptions. For example, parents strongly kept Chinese values, particularly with regard to Children's education issues. But they preferred the simple life style in Canada over dealing with human relations and politics, which was a big part of their lives when they were living in China.

This conceptual framework highlighted that Chinese immigrant families' cultural identification and acculturation were the most salient elements to explain how Chinese immigrant families formed their educational expectations and their practices to fulfill the expectations in Canada. Chinese immigrant parents' educational expectations were still constructed in accordance with Chinese cultural model. Like Phinney (2003) said, even as immigrant parents acquired behavioural skills and practices necessary to operate in a new culture, their identification with their ethnic background typically remained strong. Parents' acculturation towards Western culture led them to adjust their specific educational strategies in order to better facilitate their children's schooling.

Chinese immigrant children were growing up in a Chinese cultural family atmosphere and a Western cultural school environment. They were influenced by how their parents raised them, how they perceived by other people, and how they believed other people identified them. Even though they had stronger cultural identification with the host culture in Canada than their parents did, their educational expectations were printed by the influences from their parents and the trace of Chinese culture, considering the strong parent-child relationship and mutual responsibilities between them. Although some Chinese immigrant children showed a strong desire to follow their dreams rather than to make a safe or practical choice regarding their future career. Generally speaking,

Chinese immigrant children still had the tendency to live up to their parents' educational expectations for them. Similar to what Markus and Kitayama (1991) discussed about the culture and the self, Asian children with interdependent self would be more attentive and sensitive to others than those with independent self, which would result in a relatively greater cognitive elaboration of others or of the self-in-relation-to-others. Being a part of Chinese immigrant group, and growing up in Chinese family culture, Chinese immigrant children cannot ignore the expectations from parents and from the community. They need to consider fitting into the group image of Chinese immigrants and fulfilling their responsibilities to their families.

Folk Theory of Chinese Immigrant Families' Educational Expectations

A folk theory or a lay theory is an informal and common sense interpretation that people give to their daily practice. It represents ordinary people's beliefs and intuitive decisions that are shaped by their cultural and life experiences (Li, 2004; Furnham, 1988). To be specific, folk theory is the account of "my life", consisting of peoples' understandings of their world, which would guide their interpretations of events in that world and their own actions in it (Ogbu, 1975; Holland & Quinn, 1987).

Folk theory of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations was constructed in Chinese cultural model because the ways of Chinese immigrant parents and children "seeing" things and "doing" things regarding educational issues in Canada were strongly influenced by Chinese cultural model. Zapf (1991) said a culture could be understood as a network of shared meanings that are taken for granted as reality by those interacting within the network. Hofstede (1984) defined culture as the interactive

aggregate of common characteristics that influence a group's response to its environment. So culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes one group of people from another. Fan (2000) summarized that culture could be described as the collection of values, beliefs, behaviours, customs, and attitudes that distinguish a society. A society's culture provides its members with a set of orientations or solutions to problems of external adaptation and internal integration. Like Swidler (1986) proposed, the "paradigm of culture as a tool kit of symbols, stories, rituals, and world views, which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems" (p. 273). As described in Chapter Five, educational expectations held by Chinese immigrant families were contextualized in specific families, but there were characteristics of their educational expectations showed as a collective phenomenon. Listening to each family's stories, understanding how they formed their educational expectations in Canadian context, the meaning underneath the stories emerged. Chinese immigrant families had similar interpretations of Canadian society and had similar responses to the educational system and the social structure in the hope of "making it" and "getting ahead" in Canada.

Folk theory of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations was also constructed in Chinese immigrant families' life experiences. Chinese culture provided a basic blueprint for Chinese immigrant families to react to the new society and schooling system in Canada, but it was through parents' and children's own life experiences that, their folk theory regarding educational expectations was evolved. Chinese immigrant parents' and children's basic values and beliefs regarding education were rooted in Chinese culture, while their specific behaviours and practices to achieve high academically were constructed in the living and schooling experiences in Canada.

Slowly, in Chinese immigrant community, some shared plans or strategies for parents and children to pursue education in Canada were developed. Based on this understanding, the folk theory of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations can be summarized.

Interpretation of “their lives”

People from different cultural and language backgrounds think differently because culture and language have profound influences on their cognitive processes. Ogbu (1992) used “community forces” to explain how minority immigrants interacted differently with the similar societal and school environment they were facing, which produced different educational results. Lambert (1973) said it was difficult to dislodge deep-seated beliefs. The findings in this research suggested Chinese immigrant parents adapted their thinking and attitude towards children's education issues to some degree, but the change at the deepest level of core values they believed was not detected. Chinese immigrant families' interpretation of their lives was constructed in Chinese cultural model but contextualized in Canadian social milieu. As discussed by Lofland and Lofland (2006), experiencing would start to make sense as the person performs his or her psychological functioning of translating it into how he or she thinks and feels.

First, Chinese immigrant parents showed a high degree of trust to the social institution and appreciation to educational system in Canada. Providing a new educational environment for children was one of the most important purposes for Chinese immigrant families to move to Canada. Despite the uneven opportunities the families might have experienced, they believed Canada was the most inclusive and friendly country for immigrants. Parents agreed that the tough transition experience they had been through was a understandable process and a necessary sacrifice. Chinese immigrant

parents and children perceived the discrimination were more often hidden and in the controllable range. Parents understood the curriculum and teaching ideology in school were Western culture dominated. Parents believed their children were not at an advantaged position to achieve career success and secure a future as minority immigrants in Canada. However, both parents and children were confident to overcome the barriers to build up a better life they hoped for.

Second, Chinese immigrant parents turned to their own cultural capital rather than sought for institutional supports. Parents understood it was hard for them to own the power of the social institution in Canada. They were seemingly indifferent to get involved in any politics or administrative systems. They did not have much passion to promote any reform in education system to be more beneficial to Chinese immigrants. They believed there were educational researchers and policy makers to decide whether there was anything needed to change in Canadian schools. The core value of emphasizing education in Chinese culture was well kept and even strengthened by Chinese immigrant parents in their cognition of child rearing. They still regarded education as the primary path of upward mobility in Canada. Hechter (1994) said values fall into two broad categories: instrumental and immanent. Instrumental values lead to the pursuit of fungible resources (principally wealth, but, perhaps, power and prestige as well) that can be used to satisfy a wide range of ends. In contrast, immanent values lead to the pursuit of ends that are valued for themselves alone, rather than for their exchange value. For Chinese immigrant families, education had both instrumental and immanent values. They believed education was the means of securing a promising future for Chinese immigrant children, defending the potential discriminations and uneven opportunities,

and self-developing and fulfilling for people. In Chinese culture, the beliefs in human malleability and self-improvement lead to a strong emphasis on efforts in educational endeavours. Chinese immigrant children were inculcated that improving their academic performance was within their own control and change should start with themselves to be well-prepared for the challenges ahead.

Third, Chinese immigrant parents usually took reference from Chinese immigrant community rather than from the local Canadian parents' community. Ogbu (1995) discussed about the cultural frame of reference. In his research, people from the same culture usually refer to the correct or ideal way to behave within the culture (e.g., attitudes, beliefs, preferences, practices, and symbols considered appropriate for members of the culture). Parents' social circle was mainly in Chinese immigrant community. They looked for role models and tended to follow the norms or patterns in Chinese immigrant community. They adhered to the evaluation standard of success or failure in Chinese immigrant community. They valued the judgements and comments from Chinese immigrant community more than from other ethnic groups. Chinese immigrant community played an important role in mediating between individual families and the larger social setting. Chinese immigrant families had comparatively high economic and social standing in Canada comparing with other minority immigrants. Chinese immigrant families felt no pressure to change what they believed thus followed the thinking and practice patterns that had become customs in Chinese immigrant community. This is similar to Zhou and Bankston's (1998) research, in which they called the "community-driven benefits". The values and social supports in the ethnic community "foster the development of social capital that enables individuals and their families to surmount

structural barriers, to minimize the effects of living in socially isolated and disadvantaged communities and to develop the habits and skills for socioeconomic advancement” (p.83).

Fourth, the group image built in Chinese immigrant community influenced and shaped Chinese immigrant children’s self-perception about what kind of person they should become. Chinese immigrant children grew up in two cultures. What they took from the host culture and what they took from their ethnic culture to define themselves in Canada were strongly connected with how they think and behave in specific contexts. Chinese immigrant children’s educational expectations were basically developed in the frame of reference that they had acquired from their family education and ethnic community. Group image affected Chinese immigrant children to construct the possible selves included in their self-identifications. In Steele’s (1997) research about students’ intellectual identity and school performance, it was assumed, in order to sustain school success, students must be identified with school achievement in the sense of its being a part of one’s self-definition. These good self-feelings depend in some part on good school achievement, which would translate into sustained achievement motivation. Chinese immigrants had their collective or group identity. Achieving high in academics was one of the selves that constructed the group image, which affected children’s value orientation towards education and their educational expectations. Chinese immigrant family still kept strong family bonding and mutual responsibilities between parents and children. The relationship between parents and children were interdependent. Chinese immigrant children had developed more and more personal goals, however, they also emphasized on contributing to their families and making their parents proud of them.

Actions in “their lives”

With the interpretation Chinese immigrant families had for their lives, they had their educational strategies to respond in the new educational environment in Canada. Immigration was a life course for both Chinese immigrant parents and children. Chinese immigrant parents expected children to excel in many areas and were especially concerned about children’s education, discipline, and moral qualities. Along with the high and realist educational expectations in Chinese immigrant families, their attitudes, efforts, and persistence were shown in their strategies to fulfill their expectations. Chinese immigrant parents’ and children’s educational strategies were both a reflection of their culture and a response to Canadian society.

First, Chinese immigrant children’s socialization included two processes happening at the same time: the socialization in the mainstream Western social culture outside home and the upbringing in Chinese culture at home. Chinese immigrant parents’ parenting was a key mediator between the larger culture and children’s development. Chinese immigrant children’s value orientation towards education was strongly influenced by their parents but they showed the desire of self-realization in a more democratic family context. Chinese immigrant children had the access to know Chinese culture by living in a strong Chinese culture atmosphere at home. Chinese values were learned by Chinese immigrant children through the culturally patterned thinking and behaviours in the household. Culturally patterned educational strategies were kept in Chinese immigrant families and conveyed to Chinese immigrant students to get ahead in school. Family context and the ethnic community served as an important socialization

agent for Chinese immigrant children to understand their parents' educational expectations for them.

Second, Chinese immigrant parental involvement in children's schooling was mainly through more indirect and personal home environment rather than formal presence of school environment. Chinese immigrant parents adjusted their parenting to better support their children's schooling in the new educational environment without giving up their cultural beliefs and childrearing goals. Parents did not perceive the school-based activities were enough for motivating and supervising children's learning. Instead, they identified parents' emotional and financial supports, after school study activities, and guidance on decision making were crucial to students' academic achievement. Chinese values emphasized the importance of the environment in training the children to their full potentials. Chinese immigrant parents tried to provide a warm family environment full of love and care along with high expectations and close supervision. Parents' training of their children included both achieving high academically and moral cultivation. Children were trained to have good study habits and good personality qualities from an early age. Parents emphasized the family ties and strong bonding with their children. They also played the expectancy socializer role to affect children's development of their own educational expectations.

Third, competition with other Chinese immigrant families in terms of children's academic achievement was a major source of parental motivation to facilitate their children's education. The role models in children's social surroundings strengthened both parents' and children's faith on the reward from education. In many years' immigration history of Chinese people, the social structure and Chinese immigrants'

personal choices had led to their professions being allocated in certain fields. Most parents shared similar educational expectations and pictured the possible social positions for their children given their cumulative exposure to certain social conditions. So parents guided their children to develop towards the career path they felt confident about building a good future for their children. The tradition of choice regarding university major and future career among Chinese immigrant families showed no obvious sign to change in the near future.

Fourth, Chinese immigrant parents strongly got involved in their children's development and socialization. Parents not only transferred their values and educational expectations to their children, but also supervised children's social lives and guided children regarding children's schooling related decisions. Chinese immigrant parents' dedication and investment to their children's education were long lasting and detail oriented. Compared with parents from other cultural backgrounds, Chinese immigrant parents played a more modeling role in their children's development. Peers from Chinese immigrant community served as role models for their children. Teachers and peers from school provided more information for Chinese immigrant children to have a comprehensive view about values and choices regarding educational issues. However, Chinese immigrant students' educational expectations and their plans to fulfill the expectations were imprinted by their ethnic cultural background and parents' guidance.

In summary, Chinese immigrant families' folk theory of educational expectations reflected their cultural beliefs and values, and also reflected their interpretations about Canadian society and the coping responses to Canadian educational environment and social structure. Chinese immigrant families turned to Chinese cultural capital for

supports with reference to the norms and traditions in Chinese immigrant community. The personal and emotional happening in people's belief system and mindset had not changed. Chinese immigrant families adhered to their "ways of knowing" and "ways of doing" regarding children's education and accustomed their ways in Chinese immigrant community to form their folk theory of educational expectations.

Haraway (1988) described the production of a theory as a social activity, which is culturally, socially and historically embedded, thus results in "situated knowledge". Chinese immigrant families' folk theory of educational expectations was generalized based on richness of individual experiences in specific families. Chinese immigrant families' folk theory of educational expectations indicated to certain degree that Chinese immigrant families shared some common thinking and practice in the Chinese immigrant community level. But each family had their own uniqueness in terms of their experience and route to come to form their educational expectations in a context of their own.

Implications for Future Research

This research implies a few perspectives for future research:

1. Comparative research could be conducted regarding educational aspirations in an ideal context with educational expectations contextualized under realistic conditions. Such research could identify finer distinctions regarding the differences between Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations and aspirations.

2. Longitudinal research could be conducted to explain the connection between educational expectations and the actual academic achievement in Chinese immigrant families. Such research could investigate the evolution of educational expectations held

by Chinese immigrant families in a longer time period, and illustrate how educational expectations influence Chinese immigrant students' school performance and academic achievement.

3. Comparative research could be conducted regarding Chinese immigrant families' educational expectation and career distribution from the first generation to the third generation to study the potential trend regarding educational and career choices in Chinese immigrant families. The selected families for such research who represent the three generations don't need to come from the same family.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The findings of this research lead to a few implications for the policy makers and educators in educational administration system:

1. Schools should improve the connections between parents and schools through multiple conversation channels and partnerships in order to help Chinese immigrant parents understand more about their children's schooling and then create a cohesive learning environment for Chinese immigrant students at home. In this research, Chinese immigrant parents were dissatisfied about the information exchange with schools. They had blurred ideas about the educational ideology and teaching style in Canadian schools. They felt frustrated about getting enough information about their children's study progress and curriculum arrangement.

Schools and teachers should take the initiative to make the best use of teacher-parent meeting as a venue to communicate their instructional practices, school policies, and curriculum arrangement to Chinese immigrant parents rather than just ask the parents

“Do you have any questions?” It was hard for Chinese immigrant parents to ask questions in a half hour meeting. For example, they had concerns about the curriculum and study progress, but they did not know how to bring it up because of the lack of knowledge about Canadian school education and the lack of English capability. To change the situation, it requires schools and teachers to change the traditional teacher-parent meeting format. Most Canadian schools have the one on one teacher-parent meeting every month or every term. It may be more efficient to create smaller group activities where a few parents and a few teachers can exchange ideas and comments in a relaxed setting for more open communications. In this type of group discussions, it may be better to arrange the parents with similar backgrounds such as they are all immigrant parents. Parents will feel more confident to share their opinions in the group discussion especially when their opinions most likely will be supported by other parents given that they face similar challenges and had similar concerns in the new educational environment. These activities can be mini-workshops or group discussions in which both teachers and parents can share how teachers teach students in school and how parents supervise students’ learning at home. Every discussion could have a different theme like school curriculum design, study progress for each subject, text book and after school reading project, literacy teaching, math teaching, students’ psychological health, and so on.

There are government-organized services for new arrival immigrant families, but the information about children’s schooling is not enough from these services. There should be more supports from schools offering to provide guidance and assistance to the families. Schools can help to organize volunteer groups consisting of Chinese immigrant families who have been living in Canada for longer years to provide help for new

Chinese immigrant families regarding schooling information. This group of parents can help to translate some school material such as school newsletter. These volunteer parents can also share their experiences to help new arrival Chinese immigrant parents understand how to deal with the relationships with schools and teachers in the new educational environment. Similar to this volunteer group, another possible way to improve the communication between Canadian schools and Chinese immigrant parents is that schools can appoint a parent-school liaison person, who could be an employee of the school or a parent volunteer. This suitable person should be fluent in both English and Chinese (Mandarin or Cantonese depending on which group of Chinese immigrant students' population is bigger in the school) and have good knowledge about both Canadian and Chinese cultures. This liaison person can encourage Chinese immigrant parents to give more comments and thoughts regarding school policies and instruction, and also report parents' comments and feedbacks to the school.

2. One finding in this research was that most of the participating Chinese immigrant students' career choices all clustered in a few occupations which were traditionally favoured by Chinese immigrants, partially due to Chinese immigrant parents usually sought information within Chinese immigrant community. To promote a variety of occupation choices in different ethnic populations, career education provided by schools should be open to both parents and children given the fact that Chinese parents play a crucial role in supervising their children's career plans. It will bring some new knowledge about careers to Chinese immigrant families and further lead to the diversity of Chinese immigrant children's career choices. Schools can also organize some lectures providing information regarding university preparatory coursework and application

requirements to both parents and students in the first year of high school studies. With more knowledge about the potential careers in Canada and the career related university preparation work, parents can support their children's schooling more efficiently.

3. Schools should pay more attention to Chinese immigrant students' psychological health and well-being. The achievement/adjustment paradox was found to be salient problem among Chinese immigrant students, suggesting that their school performance did not necessary mean they did not have social and psychological adjustment problems. Because of the numerous challenges they faced at home and within peer groups, Chinese immigrant students may have adjustment problems despite not showing big problems on their studies. For example, it was found that the recent Chinese immigrant teenagers were usually left out by peer groups in school. They had troubles to get involved in both early Chinese immigrant students' groups and non-immigrants' groups. This segregation may have a negative effect on new Chinese immigrant students' self-confidence and self-esteem. It is necessary for schools to have plans aiming to change the segregation situation among peers by ethnicity or by length of time of immigration.

Schools, districts, and provinces need to examine the ways to increase accesses for immigrant students to non-isolating school environment. Schools need to address new immigrant students' needs specifically. For example, some students mentioned that one of the reasons why they did not get involved in peer groups in school was because they need to stay in ESL class for half a day. So they did not get enough opportunities to socialize with students out of ESL class. Most just make friends with other new immigrants in ESL class. Schools may design the ESL program in a more flexible way to

give new immigrant students a more balanced opportunity to get to know different peer groups in school.

Loneliness, mismatch of cultures, frustration with the lack of integration with peer groups would cause a high level of stress among Chinese immigrant students. A support system is required in school to help immigrant students overcome the stress and frustration caused by initial adjustment and to enable them to enjoy the new schooling experiences. For example, the school psychology counselling service should recruit more students because it will be easier for immigrant students to share their problems with peers. Chinese immigrant parents always emphasized their children's schoolwork. They might pay less attention to children's social and emotional needs. Also parents sometimes were distracted by their own jobs and emotional issues. Schools should address the importance of students' psychological health to parents and help parents be aware of the potential mental health problem their children might experience.

4. Schools need to provide instructions that are meaningful and affirming to the cultural identities of students with diverse immigrant backgrounds. Working in multicultural environments, it is important that teachers have the awareness and understanding about students' diverse cultural and language backgrounds in order to improve teachers' intercultural communicative competence. There is an urgent need to bridge teachers' knowledge gap. Furthermore, teachers with this awareness and knowledge will be helpful for immigrant students to go through a smoother transnational life in the first few years following immigration. Schools may provide training programs for teachers to learn more about different cultures to improve teachers' capability of culture sensitive teaching. Creating more communication channels between teachers and

immigrant parents, which was discussed in the previous implication, is another way to help teachers know more about different cultures.

Concluding Remarks

Doing this research was a good learning experience for me. I felt the big difference between learning how to do research and actually doing the research. Every step of the research process was time consuming but rewarding. It was overwhelming when I tried to interpret the meanings from numerous data. I found it took time and patience to reach the “understanding” point of the data because I had to read into the interviewee’s narratives deep and carefully. Doing this research with my own Chinese culture background required me to drop my “social stock of knowledge” (Berger & Luckmann, 1991, p.56) to read every sentence and word in participants’ narratives with curious mind instead of taking the comments of which I was familiar with for granted. Writing down this research itself was a process of reviewing the whole research process. At the same time, I tried to look into the detail of the data and then look at the bigger picture to connect all the data together. Writing also prompted deeper thinking because I questioned myself many times “what’s that” in the data and whether the findings in this research were valuable. Naming of categories, comparing the comments, refining the themes, and writing every section of this research pushed myself to get closer to “what’s the truth” constructed in Chinese immigrant families’ educational expectations.

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Appendix A: Consent Form



**Department of Educational
Administration**

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

This is a research by a graduate student, as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at University of Saskatchewan. You are invited to participate in this research. I need your support to complete this research. Please read this form carefully and feel free to contact me with any questions or concerns you might have. Thank you for your willingness and time.

Title of Research: Chinese Immigrant Families' Educational Expectations:

A Multiple Case Study

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Research Purpose:

The primary purpose of this research is to deepen the understanding of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations in Canada, and to further improve the

understanding of their living and schooling experiences in Canada. The specific purposes include: First, I want to give a detailed description and interpretation of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations from both parents' and children's perspectives; Second, I want to identify and analyze the factors affecting the formation of educational expectations in Chinese immigrant families to provide insights into the complexity and variability of how educational expectations are constructed in their lives; Third, I want to explore and summarize Chinese parents' and children's plans and strategies to fulfill their educational expectations.

Procedure:

This study is a qualitative multiple case study in a constructivist paradigm. The data collection method mainly includes interviews and document and records analysis.

The data collection procedure includes: the first interview with parents and the first interview with children separately, each interview will last approximately one hour and a half depending on participants' cooperation and the specific situations. The interviews with parents and children could be arranged in the same day or different days. The second interview will be arranged after reviewing the data collected from the first interview.

All the interviews will be scheduled at a time and place of the participants' convenience. The interviews will be audio taped and transcribed. A copy of each participant's transcript will be provided to each participant for reviewing and altering.

Because I need to collect data from both parents and children, I need to get the permission of parents and the willingness of children to collect data from children.

Data collection will be conducted from the end of March to the end of October, 2014.

Follow up:

The findings will be reported by means of a doctoral dissertation. The conclusions of this study will be shared with the faculty of Educational Administration and may later be published in scholarly journals or contribute to conference presentations. I will inform the participants when the dissertation is available in Education Library and Educational Administration office online and in print. I will also send a copy of complete dissertation to the participants.

Potential Benefits:

This study will contribute to fill the gap in the literature of Chinese immigrant research in Canada. This study will help to understand the nature and formation of Chinese immigrant families' educational expectations by telling their experiences and stories from their own perspectives. The findings of this study will give educators and administrators a more comprehensive understanding of Chinese immigrant families' living and schooling experiences in Canada. This understanding would help educators and administrators improve policy in order to more sufficiently respond to the educational needs and goals of Chinese immigrant families.

Potential Risks:

There are no known or anticipated risks to participate in this research.

I will make sure that the participants understand the research purpose and the research process. I will explain what the participants' rights are in this research. I would like to answer any questions and concerns from the participants. I would like to listen to any requirement and suggestion from parents to make sure that their children will receive enough protection in this research.

Storage of Data:

The data will include interview transcripts, tape recordings, my reflective memos, research results, and other relevant materials. During and after the research, all collected data will be securely stored with the dissertation supervisor, Dr. Keith Walker, in a password protected computer, for six years in accordance with the Behavioural Research Ethics Board of the University of Saskatchewan Guidelines. After six years, all data pertaining to this research will be destroyed.

Confidentiality:

Every effort will be made to protect your anonymity, respect your privacy and confidentiality. Any personal information including name, place, and organization will be replaced by pseudonyms. The documents containing the real names and other identifying information will be kept separately from the audio tapes, transcripts, analyses, and any written memos or summaries which result from. The information you provide

will not be disclosed to anyone except for my dissertation committee members. And it will only be used for academic purposes.

There are a few limitations to confidentiality: individual participants could be identified because of the nature or size of the sample or because of their relationships with the researcher; procedures of recruiting or selecting participants may compromise the confidentiality of participants (e.g., participants are referred to the study by a person outside the research team).

Right to Withdraw:

Your participation is voluntary. There will be no payment for your participation in this project or for publication of this research. You can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with and skip any questions you do not wish to answer. Your consent to participate does not mean you are committed. You have the right to withdraw from the research for any reason without penalty of any sort. If you withdraw from the research, any data that you have contributed will be destroyed at your request.

Your right to withdraw data from the study will apply until 31st October 2014, because data would have been pooled and results would have been disseminated according to the timeline of this research. After this, it is possible that some form of research dissemination will have already occurred and it may not be possible to withdraw your data.

Questions and Concerns:

This research has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board on March 27, 2014. If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me or reach the Research Ethics Office through ethics.office@usask.ca or toll free number for possible out of town participants: 888-966-2975.

Consent to Participate:

I have read and understood the description provided. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research conducted by Xia Luo. I also agree my child to participate in this research under my supervision. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>
_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Researcher</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix B: Consent Form for Release of Transcripts

CONSENT FOR RELEASE OF TRANSCRIPTS

In relation to the research study entitled, of Chinese Immigrant Family's Educational Expectations: A Multiple Case Study, I, _____, have reviewed the complete transcript of my personal interview in this study, and have been provided with the opportunity to add, alter, and delete information from the transcript as appropriate. I acknowledge that the transcript accurately reflects what I said in my personal interview with Xia Luo. I hereby authorize the release of this transcript to Xia Luo to be used in the manner described in the Consent Form. I have received a copy of this Consent for Release of Transcript for my own records.

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

Name of Researcher

Signature

Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix C: Questions about Demographic Background

Questions about Demographic Background

What are your jobs and your spouse's jobs in Canada and back in China?

What is your age?

What is your education background?

How many children do you have?

Are they boys or girls?

How old are they?

Which grade are they in?

Which school do your children attend?

Is it a public or private or religious school?

Appendix D: In-Depth Interview Questions

In-Depth Interview Questions

First Interview Questions:

To parents:

- 1, What are the reasons of immigrating to Canada from China?
- 2, How long have you been living in Canada?
- 3, How do you like your life in Canada?
- 4, What is the difference between living in Canada and in China? Please be elaborate.
- 5, Do you know much about Canada now?
- 6, What is the difference regarding the educational system and philosophy you found in Canada and in China?
- 7, What are your children's schooling experiences in Canada? For example, curriculum taking, teaching style, peer interaction, and general feeling about going to school in Canada?
- 8, How are your children's grades? Average, Above average, or Top.
- 9, Do your children go to advanced class?
- 10, Are you satisfied with your children's studies?
- 11, How important do you think education is in your children's lives and in your family?
- 12, What are your educational expectations for your children now? To be specific, how far do you want your children to go in education? What major do you want your children to choose? What social status do you want your children to achieve in Canadian society?
- 13, Is there any change in your educational expectations for your children after moving to Canada? If there is, what is the change? And why?

14, Is there any difference between your educational expectations for your children and your children's own educational expectations?

15, What do you think is the reason to cause the difference of educational expectations between you and your children?

16, Is there anything else you would like to add to what you have told me?

To Children:

1, Tell me something about your schooling experiences in China? For example, the courses, the teaching, peer relationship, and etc.

2, How do you feel about moving to Canada?

3, Do you like to go to school in Canada? Is there anything interesting or challenging?

4, What is the difference you found going to school in Canada and going to school in China?

5, Do you have any plan about your education? For example, do you want to apply for university or college? If yes, which university or college do you want to apply, why? What major do you plan to choose, why?

6, What is your general goal in your life? Or what kind of life do you want to have in Canada? Do you want to have better life than your parents' or the same life like theirs is enough?

7, Do your parents give suggestions about your education and future career choice? If yes, what are your parents' suggestions?

8, What do you think are the reasons that your parents have certain plans on your education and future career?

9, Will you listen to your parents about your education and future career choice or you prefer to plan out your future by yourself?

- 10, If there is a big difference between you and your parents regarding your education and future career choice, how will you deal with the difference?
- 11, How do you think about the relationship between educational expectations and school performance?
- 12, What is your relationship with your parents? Can you give some examples?
- 13, Is there any difference of the parent-child relationship in your family after moving to Canada?
- 14, How important do you think education is in your life and in your family?
- 15, Are you confident about your future development in Canada?
- 16, Is there anything else you would like to add to what you have told me?

Note: Second Interview Questions (second interviews were carried out with parents only) were designed based on reviewing the data collected from the first interviews with parents and children. Also there were different questions for different families considering their specific family contexts and their answers to questions in the first interviews.

Second Interview Questions

To parents:

- 1, How do you summarize your experiences of settling down in Canada and adjusting to the culture here? Please be elaborate.
- 2, Do you keep open-minded to explore everything and actively involve in the Canadian society or mostly stay in the Chinese immigrant community or depend on yourself to adjust the new life in Canada?

- 3, Are you satisfied with your current life? If not, what are the reasons and how will you improve your experiences in Canada?
- 4, Do you believe that your children will have a better future in Canada or you just want to raise your children in another culture and environment?
- 5, What did you do to help your children get used to the new life in Canada during the first few years after immigration?
- 6, How are your interactions with your children's school and teacher?
- 7, Are you satisfied with the educational system and teaching in Canadian schools according to your children's schooling experiences here? If not, why?
- 8, Do you have any suggestions for the policy maker and educator to better support your children's education?
- 9, You told me about your educational expectations for your children, why do you have the educational expectations for your children?
- 10, How important do you think parents' role in children's educational achievement?
- 11, If you have more than one child, is there any difference between your educational expectations for the older child and the younger child?
- 12, How do you deal with the difference between your educational expectations for your children and their own expectations?
- 13, What is your parenting style? For example, very strict, demanding, setting rules, or communicating, concern, care, love, and etc. Please be elaborate.
- 14, What are the home training or practices you had applied to assist your children's studies?
- 15, If your older child already went to university or started to work, how do you think the role of educational expectations in your child's educational achievement so far?
- 16, Is there anything else you would like to add to what you have told me?